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THE CAROLINIAN.

In the April 1853 Number of the *Reporter*, we had occasion to review a reprint—that had then recently appeared—in *Frazer's Magazine*, of a volume originally published in the United States, entitled *Slavery in the Southern States*, by *A Carolinian*. The object of the writer was to decry *Uncle Tom*, and to shew that it misrepresented “the peculiar institution,” and exaggerated its evils, whilst it kept out of view whatever it might possess of good. We were as much struck with the speciousness of the writer’s arguments, as we were amazed at the boldness with which he asserted that “Slavery, if rightly appreciated, is eminently calculated to give rise to the Christian virtues:” and that “the Southerner who buys his slaves at the Auction-mart, is buying with the conviction pressing upon him that his property comes to him with weighty claims of humanity and of Christian duty that must not be denied.” We need scarcely observe that to the correctness of this doctrine we entirely demurred. We now quote from *Uncle Tom at home*—a work from which we gave a remarkable extract in our last—a few facts, which will illustrate how far the Southerners are from understanding the obligations of the institution in the sense alleged by the *Carolinian*. As Mr. Adams, the author of the above-named interesting volume, was resident at Charleston when he penned his pages, and was perfectly well acquainted with Mr. P—— (the *Carolinian*), we attach much value to his testimony, which he gives as the result of his own personal experience. We have no doubt the

following scenes were sketched from nature. Mr. Adams thus introduces them:

“In all our intercourse with Southerners, we never heard one claim moral caste for the institution of slavery; but not unfrequently have we heard them denounce instances of outrage upon chastity, sustained in the rights of the master, and beyond the remedy of laws made to govern the outraged. With our knowledge of social life in Charleston, we feel no hesitation in saying, that Mr. P——’s erudition in behalf of the divine precepts of slavery will prove as novel to Southern readers, as it will be forcible to those of more Northern sensibility. But the reader must remember that the quality, depth, and attributes of Christianity, according to the rule of progress, are at the present day measured by a scale of locality. That which is made the medium of an accommodating morality at Charleston, would be rejected as unwholesome by the sterner judgment of the New Englander.

“Upon these considerations, we can be charitable with Mr. P——, and attribute his singular errors to the fact of having founded the sliding-scale of his Christian conclusions upon the texture of this species of morality—a morality opening a grand arena for the pleasures of those who wish to enjoy. It was fortunate for the author that his book came out at an unfortunate time, otherwise his reputation for literary pursuits would have reflected upon his legal abilities: yet there is nothing without its consolation, and Mr. P—— has his in a knowledge of his book being a book *for home*, and not for the critical observation of a reading public in this enlightened age. He has lost the me-

dium which enlists the confidence of the common reader, in trying to bury the issue of natural law with the beauties of his pen; a fault much in vogue by those who consider themselves polished writers.

"Had he traced the effect of a small minority governing a large majority in absolutism, he would have qualified his moral disclosures, and made a small exception for those evils which must naturally arise from the force of power necessary to subject one to the will of the other. Or if he had treasured his divine discoveries, contrasted them with the prospect of that majority being held in an absolute and abject condition, subject to the good or bad traits of the master's character—his positive will—changing fortunes, and those unforeseen events which have brought so many poor wretches into the hands of tyrants, he would have added force and consistency to his book, strengthening the better division of his cause. His efforts might have promised something in the future, instead of burdening his logic with the beauties of slave-life. His generosity would have had life, and he, with some plausibility, claimed a hopeful diffusion of spiritual life for his slave, and made the common reader believe there was truth in it.

"Our object being to notice the book upon one point only—the only one upon which it claims attention, we shall give Mr. P—— a simple contrast, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. It is a simple and singular process of testing Mr. P——'s logic, but having lived in his own neighbourhood we will invite him to its standard of morality.

"Will you go with us into the innumerable by-ways of your sunny city? They are lined with little cottages, inhabited by semi-Saxon females, whose flaxen-headed children know a father—not to recognise him as such, but to fear him. We will enter together! The picture around us is full of measured humbleness. Shall we ask the unhappy woman who prides in being the mistress of a *gentleman*, who is her *friend*? No, we will not ask her, for custom has made it a social generality—we *know*! Let us trace him to his mansion, because they are things of common life. He has a pretty family there, and they go to church *every* Sunday. Certainly! there's no getting over that—and papa goes *too*, puts on one of the very best faces for Christian modesty, opens the prayer-book for dear wife, pats the little legitimates on the head, and reminds them of their duty to the good parson's sermon. While this very necessary species of puritanism is manifesting itself below, his pensive mistress sits in the gallery, enjoying the sovereign contemplation of her own feelings. Around her are those little, interesting intermixtures, *doubted* and *disowned*, peering over the railing at '*daddy below*,' like as

many ferrets motioning about a stone-wall: but they must not insinuate with their fingers.

"There is a wide difference between the quantity and quality of Christianity; and the latter should be judged before the former is credited.

"We are treading on delicate ground; but must invite Mr. P—— to go further with us, and be a missionary among the specimens.

"Which way will you go—east, west, north, or south? We are now in the centre of the city, and the course is immaterial. The same prospect is before us in every street, lane, and alley, and on the *neck*. Here are the demonstrators—you know them, and you must not shut your eyes, nor feel about for Christianity. Well! we'll step into Old Ned Johnson's on the neck. It is a miserable rookery, but an average sample of those '*all around town*'—not excepting those attached to several princely dwellings. Don't stop at the door, because it 'a'nt so neat as your own little place.' Sit down on that primitive box by the fire-place. Yes, that's well; put your handkerchief over it. 'Ned don't keep things the nicest,' nor does 'old Misses lef' um nuf to hab' chare fогemmen.' Ned's simple story is a counterpart of what could be told by thousands in your city—at least, seven-tenths of the coloured population of your city.

"Ned is one of the cleverest 'old niggers' about; black as a crow, honest as *any nigger*, '*for all niggers'll steal*,' and has always worked *just like a nigger*. Old Mumma is as motherly an old 'thing' as you ever did see, and a Christian at that. Yes, just as sound as a nutmeg in her belief, and thinks she'll go to heaven just as '*straight as white folks*.' You must see her, and learn from her the very best original ideas of Christianity; give ear to her simple dialogue—and if you comprehend her logic, it may assist in propping up your new system of Christianity—founded upon the slave law. Ned will go and bring her in.

"Three young imps, as '*black as vengeance*,' half naked, and as dirty as wharf-rats, come scampering into the house—perfect pictures of Old Ned. They rumage about the house, and in the old basket where Ned keeps his nigger fodder, to find some corn cake. 'But da's nofin da,' no corn to make im wid.' Its scratching times with Ned; he's been laid up nearly a week with a lame arm, his time is running on, and that old widow A——m would grind his marrow-bones for the wages.

"You say:—'Well—we-know; there's a good many hard cases about town—and especially these foreigners that buy slaves to profit by their increase, selling their own children in the market. But it would n't do to be everlasting bothering

your head about the troubles between niggers and their masters. It's unpopular; you'd get yourself into a pretty fix about town.'

"Ned has returned, and, with an humble suavity, informs us that Mumma 'come fo' soon.' She's got some work at fifty cents a-day, which will help to pay old Misses for Ned's time. Let us ask Ned a few questions.

'How old are you, Ned?'

'Ha! hah!! ha-e!!! Why Massa, hard fo'h tell dat. Spose I's 'bout sixty som 'ow. Old Miss say 't'ant so by good pile. Lor, Ned know what old Miss up to. Can't wuk no how, Massa, like when I out on old Massa plantation; old Miss know dat, 'but no' lef im gone; drive old Ned jus so yet.'

'Where do you work, Ned?'

'I stows cotton on de waf; I'ze fus rate at dat; gets dollar and seven pence a day.'

'How much a month do you give old Missis for your time—clear share?'

'Why Lor, Massa, dat 'quire some cal-k'lating. When old Massa lib' and I cumes down to wuk ater all done gone on plantation, den I pays old Massa twenty dollars ebey mont. Old Massa good old boss; when Ned did im up right, gin um dollar now and den!'

'We don't care about that; we want to know what you pay now!'

'Well, old Massa die—good old soul; you now'd him Mass P——, dat you did. Den Massa Genl. Hamilton cum secutor ob de state; he no'd I 'warnt right, an 'e just make old Miss content ersef wid sixteen dollars.'

'Do you support your wife and family with the balance?'

'Sartin,—must do dat, an old Miss such straight Christian make Ned gib fo'h dollars fo church ebe year. Old Miss look right sharp fo' cash. Put em-up in jail once, den send em to wokouse, and give em ginger cus lef wages run pass one week! Lor, Massa, Old Ned seen some ard time in is life—tell you dat. But my old woman gals got fuss rate friends—*help some, old Miss know dat.*

'Ah! how's that? What's the difference between your children and her children?'

'Whew! mighty site Massa, you know dat. *Don't* take no losopher what own slaves to reckon!'

'How long have you been married, Ned?'

'Massa, jus long nuf t' hab dem tree, pointing to the woolly-headed imps who had huddled into the fire-place. 'Old woman hab two '*bright gal*' fo I marry her!' he continues with emphasis.

'O yes! she was a widow when you married her.'

'Massa, I sees yes green, 'aint liv souf long no how. Old Massa know all about dem gal. He says gwine to lef 'em free when 'e die; but *Buckra* very unsartin, an 'e don

know if 'e die when he gwine to. Old Miss watch dat an put em fo'h true. Boff on em be *mighty likely gals.*

'Well, Ned, where is Nancy now?'

'Lor, Massa, you knows; her friend keep big store on *de Bay*' (street next the wharves). 'Da 'ant no bigger geman den he bout town.'

'Did he buy her from old Missis?'

'He did dat—gin her nine hundred dollar. Nancy got right smart boy now, jus as bright as you is, Massa.'

'Misses always goes to church—does she Ned?'

'Yah! yah!! yah!!! she what do dat; neber hear church bell ring widout see old Missis gwine.'

'Honest Christian! What a pleasure there is in faith, thought we.

'Did she ever sell you, Ned?'

'Old Missis get strange bout two year ater old Massa die, and sell me way down Christ Parish—get right good heap for me den. But lor, Massa, dey work nigger down da anyhow, and don't gin notin to eat nohow. It aint no way to make nigger wuk so. No bacon to grese 'e troat wid, and stick de lash to 'e back so! I mose dead in two years, and beg old Miss to buy me back, cos I warn't wuf much nohow.'

'What did they feed you on, Ned, and what were your Christian principles?'

'Just what all Massas gib nigger down yonder—peck corn every week—nofin else. Massa how I gwine to be Christian? No lef em read—no Church, and Massa Carlsay work for sef on Sunday, get bacon. Massa take 'e dog an go hunt Sunday. Nigger work 'e own *patch* for get bacon and lasses. Mighty few planters what gib nigger bacon down Christ Parish.'

'Couldn't you steal, Ned?'

'Why, Massa, jes fose to dat—do I warnt Christian. Buckra man say all nigger steal—spose I jes' well own him. But Massa, nigger don't steal wus den Buckra, gin him same chance for nuff to eat. But 'e mighty dangerous business fo' nigger. We tefe Massa Genl. Quattlebum hog down swamp one night. Massa Genl. hear de serpent squeal, an cum wid 'e gun. Whiz! ziz!! ziz!!! de way he shoot 'em wid 'e double barrel mose kill Jef an me—den old Massa *buck* de whole on us next mornin. Lor, I beg old Miss take me back, so I see my old woman. Old Miss tink sometime by-'n-bye feel like Christian and did em straight. Iz a Christian now, Massa, an wanted to be one den, but old Massa no lef em nohow.'

'Here comes old Mumma; a description of her is unnecessary—we only want her simple experience in our author's theology. She has been a hard worker in virtuous toil, and yet she struggles to get the price of a corn cake and a little hominy. Two beautiful '*bright gals*' follow her. They are finely

formed, with classic faces, features well developed, and enlivened by the striking beauties of Saxon birth. One seems a few years older than the other—neither look like Mumma, and yet they are hers. She's right glad to see us, but her domicile is the index of poverty, and she feels conscious that she cannot receive us properly. But we must know her experience.

'Mumma, what has made you a good Christian?'

'Don know dat?—Why, de Lord! dat jus as sartin as Massa Buckra preach.'

'Well, Mumma, whose girls are these?'

'O, dem mine fa' true: hab dem long time ago. Old Massa high old boy den.'

'And these little woolly-headed rascals—yours too, Mumma?'

'Jus so true—Ned know dat.'

'Ah, Mumma!'

'Why Lor, Massa, how I helf him? Old Massa own me den, and 'e lash 'e back—'

'Were you a Christian then, Mumma?'

'What you ax dat fo'? How I be Christian wen Massa no lef em? *Iz go for Church den.* Cus Massa say he best; and nigger alays like to! Ater Ned and I gets married fo' true den I jins de Church wid Ned—true Christian den!'

'Is your eldest daughter married, Mumma?'

'Why, Massa, she married jus like all bright gals. Her friend buy her of old Missis long time ago. He rich geman—"do well" by her so far: God know Massa how long he last so; *Buckra* very unsartin in such tings. Just like 'e marry somebody, den send she to old Massa Gadsden for sell—'

'This is a simple mode of testing the quality of Mr. P——'s specific theology; but we must proceed a little further.

'Does she go to church, Mumma?'

'Is wouldn't be dat gal if she didn't go to church—neber miss em. She just de Christian what "Buckra man" make her.'

'About this other one, Mumma—Christian too?'

'Why, Massa, what make 'e ax sich questions—ye 'ant parson nohow:—Her 'friend' fus rate geman—but im done want nofin said bout it cos he jine de church 'e sef. Old Missis know it sartin fo true.'

'Does Old Misses own her yet?'

'Lor, yes! Dat gal pay Old Miss four dollar ebe week—*clare at dat.*'

'There 's no doubt of Old Misses being a good Christian?'

'Massa, you know old Miss; she's jist the straijist Christian ye ever seed—say prayer an reckon on what parson say wid de gospel straight in 'er eye.'

'Let us ask Mr. P—— if he can walk the streets of Charleston without these evidences staring him in the face at every step? Custom has tolerated them, and the most

flagrant licentiousness finds an apology in his arguments. Go where you will, and you find this debasing moth spreading disease in the humble artisan's domicile, and gathering around the mazes of your social castes. Virtue has become divisional, prized in one sphere and invalid in another, and men treat it as a thing of little worth—*save* what serves the needs of home. This is commented upon at home, lamented, and even censured by your better citizens."

The publication in our last of the story of *Bella Martin*, from this same book of *Uncle Tom at home*, has given rise to a circumstance of much interest, which the following letter will shew. The original was sent to us to be forwarded to C. F. Adams, Esq., and at his request we publish it. He assures us that the moral effect such testimonies produce at the South is very great, which perhaps is the best reason we can assign for giving the present one a place in our columns:—

"Hartfield, near Tunbridge Wells,

England, Feb. 5th, 1854.

"SIR,—I have this day read in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* an extract from your noble book, *Uncle Tom at home*, containing the case of *Eliza Price*. I will waste no words on its atrocity, but only say, that if it is possible to do any thing towards securing her freedom, either by defending her case, or, if she loses it, by purchasing her, I will send you 50*l.* on the receipt of a letter from you advising me how to do so; and shall be glad to hear from you any further particulars—whether the case is still pending, &c. &c.; and if given against her, whether it would be possible to purchase her and her child, and at what price.

"As I am totally unknown to you, I beg to refer you to Thomas Appleton, Esq., son of the Hon. Anthom Appleton of Boston, with whom I am acquainted, and, indeed, distantly connected by the marriage of his sister to my cousin, Mr. Mackintosh.

"I remain, with great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"SARAH ELIZABETH WEDGWOOD."

BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS.

We published in our last Number the Inaugural Address and the Constitution of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*. We have since been favoured with the Address of the Provisional Committee, and of the Constitution of another Association called *The North of England Anti-Slavery and India Reform League*, which we regret our inability to reproduce in our present number, owing to press of matter. We are informed that this Society has been instituted in consequence of

a schism in the Committee of the *Union*, which originated in the nomination, by the casting-vote of the Chairman, of the Rev. F. Hemming, as the Agent of the latter body. The minority, consisting of the Reverends Dr. Beard, W. Parkes, W. Stokes, and G. Hinde, and Messrs. George Thompson, N. Card, and F. W. Chesson, have published at length, in the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for February last, their reasons for tendering their resignation as Committee-men and officers. We deeply regret this rupture, believing that disunion amongst Abolitionists, whether British or American, tends to strengthen the hands of the slave-power, by preventing co-operation for its overthrow.

FRIENDS' ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION.

It may not be generally known, that in October last Messrs. W. Forster, Josiah Forster, J. Candler, and W. Holmes, a delegation from the *London Yearly Meeting of Friends*, left this country on an anti-slavery mission to the President and Federal Government, and the Governor and Executive of the several States of the American Union. We believe that, up to the most recent date, they had, on the whole, every reason to feel encouraged by the success which had attended them. It seems, however, that they have also met with slight in some quarters. For this they were doubtless prepared. Their mission was one of goodwill, undertaken in Christian love, but likely not to meet with much favour at the hands of those who are interested in the support of the system against which the Delegates were sent to remonstrate. We find in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 7th January ult., as extracted from the *Detroit Free Press*, the following copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Josiah Forster, from Sterling Price, Governor of Missouri, in reply to the communications which had been forwarded to him. We leave our readers to comment upon the bad taste and bad spirit in which Governor Price's letter is written; but they indicate how severe a rebuke was conveyed to the writer, as an advocate of slavery, in the address he perused, and in the earnest pages of John Woolman.*

"Executive Department,

"City of Jefferson, Nov. 22, 1853.

"MR. JOSIAH FORSTER, &c.—Since the reception from you this day of the report of the 'Society of Friends,' adopted in London at their late Annual Meeting, accompanied by a work purporting to be the 'Journal of J. Woolman,' I have

* With feelings of deep pain we have received intelligence of the decease at Friendsville, Tenn., of Mr. William Forster, one of the deputation.—
(Ed. A. S. R.)

carefully perused the former, and critically examined the latter.

"The obvious meaning of both is to discuss and present the question of slavery as it now exists in the several States of this confederacy in an unfair and very partial manner. The constitution of the United States, as well as the constitution of many of our States respectively, implicitly sanctions and protects this institution. The citizens of the slave States profess to be more capable than any other people to determine the important questions growing out of the relation of master and servant; and it is a fact, now universally acknowledged by intelligent minds, that great and incalculable injury has already resulted to the slaves of North America on account of the misguided zeal of those who have undertaken to embrace the whole universe in the sphere of their philanthropy.

"Now, more than fifty years ago the seeds of that fanaticism which, permit me to say, are plainly discernible both in the report of the Society of Friends and in the accompanying work of Woolman, were sown in the great and powerful city of London. Their first-fruits were soon after gathered on the island of St. Domingo. Since that day the spirit of the founders of Abolitionism has never slept. In our own country are to be found many, who, while they do not espouse the cause of this institution as established among us, yet there are few in all our vast extent who are disposed in any way to agitate the subject. These few constitute among us exceptions to law-abiding and dutiful citizens, and doubtless to their phrenzied zeal may be justly attributed the presumptuous liberties which even foreigners themselves feel sometimes disposed to take. But I find myself exceeding the bounds which I had set for this letter, and I will therefore conclude by returning the documents, and requesting, in behalf of the citizens of Missouri, whom I represent, that all such appeals and efforts for the future be directed to the improvement and amelioration of the distresses and sufferings of subjects of the British nation, and especially of the inhabitants of the city of London, whence has arisen that false philanthropy which has cursed the negroes of the West Indies, and which only tends to injure the condition of the slaves of this Union.

"I have the honour, &c.

"STERLING PRICE."

We do not think it worth while to devote space to the remarks of the Editor of the *Detroit Free Press* on the subject of the deputation, further than to say that they are written in a tone of unseemly exultation at what the writer regards as the "deserved rebuke" administered by Governor Price to our anti-slavery coadjutors. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* has a brief editorial on the subject, which we extract:

"We heard, a few weeks since, that a delegation from the London Yearly Meeting of Friends had come over to this country, charged with the duty of holding personal interviews with the governors of the several States, and perhaps, also, with other officials, and endeavouring, by conversations and the distribution of suitable documents, to enlist their influence in behalf of mea-

asures designed to bring about the abolition of slavery. Having seen, however, no official announcement either of their presence or their plans, the matter had passed from our recollection, when it was again brought to mind by the letter of Governor Price of Missouri to Josiah Forster, which, with the comments thereon of the *Detroit Free Press*, will be found under their appropriate head. The latter affords satisfactory evidence that such a deputation has actually been sent over by the British Friends, and that they are engaged in the discharge of the duties assigned them. The privacy of their movements is in accordance with the general policy of the sect, and is constrained in this instance, doubtless, by an apprehension that publicity might defeat the object. Our belief is, that the English Quakers might have adopted a more efficient plan of anti-slavery labour; but we are thankful that it was in their hearts to do *any thing* to help the cause. The men who have undertaken this mission of goodwill to the American governors will find that no amount of prudence, caution, or gentleness, that is compatible with an earnest purpose, will avail to shield them from the condemnation and the reproach of the slaveholders and their sympathizers. The letter of the Governor of Missouri to Mr. Forster, and the comments of the organ of General Cass, are an index of the feelings which their philanthropic intervention is calculated to excite. But they will do good, and, we hope, go home wiser than they came, and prepared to suggest to their supporters better plans for aiding the anti-slavery cause in the United States."

SOMETHING AND NOTHING.

In the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of the 29th Dec. ultimo, there appeared the subjoined *Fact from Georgia*:

"The following bill to prevent the separation of young slave children from their mothers by sale under execution, or other legal process, is now before the Legislature of Georgia, the same State that offered *five thousand dollars* for the abduction of William Lloyd Garrison. Let those who think that the anti-slavery agitation is rendering the condition of the slave more cruel, ponder well the significance of this fact."

'Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that the children not exceeding five years of age, of any woman slave, and such woman slave, shall not be separately sold, or exposed to sale under execution or other legal process, order, or decree, or at any sale made by an executor, administrator, guardian, or other trustee, but shall be placed together, in one of the parts into which the estate to which they belong is to be divided, unless such division cannot in any wise be effected without such separation.

'Sec. 2. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that by consent of the ordinary, slaves, living in a different county from a deceased owner, may be sold in the county in which said slaves may reside, upon application being made for such purpose.

'Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, that all

laws and parts of laws militating against this Act, be and the same are hereby repealed.'

A correspondent, referring to the foregoing measure, says that "it is manifestly one of the fruits of H. B. Stowe's book, and the world-wide agitation of the subject of American slavery."

Before we comment upon the proposed bill, we will append an extract from the last Annual Message of the Governor of the State of Alabama, who, in relation to slaves, and their sale under execution, which he desires to prevent, under certain restrictions, says:

"The code very properly provided that slave children of tender years shall, at judicial and some other sales, be offered with their mothers, where the defendant in execution, &c. is the owner both of the mother and children; and that at such sales slaves must be offered, and, if practicable, sold in families. But it is allowable for either of the parties in interest to impair, to a great extent, these very salutary enactments. The provisions, in my judgment, *should be absolute*, at least as it respects mothers and children of ten years of age and under, and husband and wife, where the latter relation is admitted by the owner of the slaves. *These are relations which moral duty requires us to respect*, and it can be no violation of policy to conform municipal law to good morals. It is universally conceded that slaves are reasonable beings—with the moral feelings, it is true, often obtuse, but susceptible of improvement. The husband and wife generally cherish affection for each other, and the mutual attachment of mother and child is usually strong. The mother is not always a wise counsellor, but she must be presumed to be the most constant and sincere the child has. Let, then, the latter enjoy this parental oversight during childhood, that it may be the better prepared by good principles and industrious habits, to act its part afterwards.

"The propriety of exempting slaves from execution, either to a partial or unlimited extent, is a question of expediency merely—an excess of credit is certainly a great evil in this State, often prejudicial to the interest of the debtor, occasionally so to the creditor—injurious to public morals and productive of much suffering in families. So far, then, as such a measure may affect credit, it is not very objectionable."

Now, it is *something*, that leading Southerners are looking at some of the dreadful evils of slavery, and proposing measures for the amelioration of the condition of those who are in bonds. We confess, however, that, to our mind, these attempts at amelioration only strike indirectly at the root of the mighty evil, which is, the transformation of a man into an article of merchandize and barter: a piece of *property*, belonging to another man. This we hold as the inherent vice of slavery. The right, consequent thereupon, to separate husband from wife, to tear children from their parents, to condemn and annihilate the holy relations imposed upon individuals in society, are only a few of the dreadful accompaniments of the dehumanizing institu-

tion. Admit for a moment only, that it is in the power of any human law to deprive a man by force of his self-ownership, and to confer upon another the right to own him, and the great moral question involved in slavery is conceded. If the slave is a chattel, an article of property, and the rights of property are respected at all, then it is not in the power of law to prevent the owner from doing what he pleases with his own. "He may," as F. Douglass correctly observes, in his comments upon these measures, "sell individually or in lots, to suit purchasers; he has as much right to separate families when offered for sale, as to separate his horses and sell them singly or otherwise." We submit, too, that under execution, and when high prices rule in the human-flesh markets, as they do at present, the law will not admit of any exception in favour of men, women, and children who are held as property, but bring all this kind of "property" alike under the hammer, with horses, mules, carts, houses, and plantations. The giving of any rights to property itself, is a contradiction and an absurdity. If the proposed measures be passed, it will be tantamount to a recognition of the natural and legal claim of the slave to all the rights which other men enjoy, for those measures will at once remove him from the category of chattel-hood, and lift him bodily up on the pedestal of manhood.

Notwithstanding these objections, we are disposed to chime in none the less heartily with Frederick Douglass when he says:

"But after all, we thank God and take courage that slaveholders, even in Alabama, are talking about amelioration. They now look upon the system, (if the Governor is a fair representative,) as one which must be, in some way or other, divested of that wholesale cruelty hourly developed in the tearing asunder of the nearest and dearest ties of humanity. They could once look upon the separation of husband, wife, parent, and child, with comparative complacency; 'slaves, horses, and other cattle,' stood side by side, on execution day, on terms of perfect equality; but now they begin to regard these harsh, uncomely features as repulsive excrescences on the face of the system, which protuberances must undergo a process of speedy excision. By and bye the repulsiveness of the whole system will stand out in bold relief, and *annihilation* take the place of excision. Then the servant will be free from his master, and the voice of the oppressor shall be heard no more."

ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION IN CONGRESS.

OUR late American files leave no room to doubt that the Senate and the country are on the eve of an agitation on the question of slavery, as furious as any of those which have attended the attempts of the pro-slavery party to extend their power, and strengthen their favourite institution. Those who are

familiar with modern American history, will scarcely require to be reminded of the mode of procedure which is adopted by the pro-slavery party, when seeking to promote the interests of that section of the Union, south of Mason and Dixon's line. It is characterized at first by much suavity, and great professions of finality in relation to the vital question. This is to lull suspicion. Presently, and as soon as a convenient opportunity presents itself, a slight step in advance is made, so slight as to excite no alarm. This is followed by another, and another, and another, until the object is gained. Since anti-slavery men, however, have been sent to Congress, determined not to compromise the great cause they advocate, the slaveocracy have not had it so much all their own way, nor have their victories been so easy. Their slightest movements have been jealously watched, and no opportunity has been lost of opposing their insidious designs, however craftily disguised. Hence the fierce discussions which have taken place in the Senate, from time to time. During the present session, the question has been mooted on three separate occasions: once on the Koszta affair—to which we adverted in our last—a second time on the proposition of compensation for the "Amistad captives," and lastly on the presentation of a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska. This last is likely to prove a serious matter. Some violent debates have already arisen on it, and the North is now gathering its strength to measure itself once again with the South. We have found no clearer or more concise exposition of the whole question than is presented in the following address.

"ADDRESS OF THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"*Shall Slavery be permitted in Nebraska?*

"Washington, Jan. 22, 1854.

"Fellow Citizens,

"As senators and representatives in the Congress of the United States, it is our duty to warn our constituencies whenever imminent danger menaces the freedom of our institutions or the permanency of our Union.

"Such danger, as we firmly believe, now impends, and we earnestly solicit your prompt attention to it.

"At the last session of Congress, a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska passed the House of Representatives, with an overwhelming majority. That bill was based on the principle of excluding slavery from the new territory. It was not taken up for consideration in the Senate, and consequently failed to become a law.

"At the present session, a new Nebraska bill has been reported by the Senate Committee on territories, which, should it unhappily receive the sanction of Congress, will open all the unorgan-

ized territory of the Union to the ingress of slavery.

"We arraign this bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region, immigrants from the Old World and free labourers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves.

"Take your maps, fellow-citizens, we entreat you, and see what country it is which this bill gratuitously and recklessly, proposes to open to slavery.

"From the south-western corner of Missouri pursue the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude westwardly across the Arkansas, across the north fork of Canadian, to the north-eastern angle of Texas; then follow the northern boundary of Texas to the western limit of New Mexico; then proceed along that western line to its northern termination; then again turn westwardly, and follow the northern line of New Mexico to the crest of the Rocky Mountains; then ascend northwardly along the crest of that mountain range to the line which separates the United States from the British possessions in North America, on the 49th parallel of north latitude; then pursue your course eastwardly along that line to the White Earth river, which falls into the Missouri from the north; descend that river to its confluence with the Missouri; descend the Missouri, along the western boundary of Minnesota, of Iowa, of Missouri, to the point where it ceases to be a boundary line, and enters the State to which it gives its name; then continue your southward course along the western limit of that State to the point from which you set out. You have now made the circuit of the proposed territory of Nebraska. You have traversed the vast distance of more than three thousand miles. You have traced the outline of an area of four hundred and eighty-five thousand square miles, more than twelve times as great as that of Ohio.

"This immense region, occupying the very heart of the North-American continent, and larger by thirty-three thousand square miles than all the existing Free States, excluding California—this immense region, well watered and fertile, through which the middle and northern routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific must pass—this immense region, embracing all the unorganized territory of the nation, except the comparatively insignificant district of Indian territory north of Red River and between Arkansas and Texas, and now for more than thirty years regarded by the common consent of the American People as consecrated to freedom, by statute and by compact—this immense region, the bill now before the Senate, without reason and without excuse, but in flagrant disregard of sound policy and sacred faith, proposes to open to slavery.

"We beg your attention, fellow-citizens, to a few historical facts.

"The original settled policy of the United States, clearly indicated by the Jefferson Proviso of 1784, and by the Ordinance of 1787, was NON-EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

"In 1803, Louisiana was acquired by purchase from France. At that time there were some twenty-five or thirty thousand slaves in this territory, most of them within what is now the State of Louisiana; a few, only, farther north, on the west bank of the Mississippi. Congress, instead of providing for the abolition of slavery in this new territory, permitted its continuance. In 1812, the State of Louisiana was organized, and admitted into the Union with slavery.

"In 1818, six years later, the inhabitants of the territory of Missouri applied to Congress for authority to form a State Constitution, and for admission into the Union. There were, at that time, in the whole territory acquired from France, outside of the State of Louisiana, not three thousand slaves.

"There was no apology in the circumstances of the country for the continuance of slavery. The original natural policy was against it, and, not less, the plain language of the treaty under which the territory had been acquired from France.

"It was proposed, therefore, to incorporate in the bill authorizing the formation of a State Government, a provision requiring that the Constitution of the new State should contain an article providing for the abolition of existing slavery, and prohibiting the further introduction of slaves.

"This provision was vehemently and pertinaciously opposed; but finally prevailed in the House of Representatives by a decided vote. In the Senate it was rejected, and, in consequence of the disagreement between the two Houses, the bill was lost.

"At the next session of Congress the controversy was renewed with increased violence. It was terminated, at length, by a compromise. Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with slavery, but a section was inserted in the Act, authorizing her admission, excluding slavery for ever from all the territory acquired from France, not included in the new State, lying north of 36 deg. 30 min.

We quote the prohibitory section:*

"*Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 deg. and 30 min. of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, otherwise than as the punishment of crimes, SHALL BE AND IS HEREBY FOREVER PROHIBITED.*"

"The question of the constitutionality of this prohibition was submitted by President MONROE to his Cabinet. John Quincy Adams was then Secretary of State; John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War; William H. Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury; and William Wirt was Attorney General. Each of these eminent men, three of them being from Slave States, gave a written opinion, affirming its constitutionality, and thereupon the Act received the sanction of the President, himself, also, from a Slave State.

* Act March 6 1820—3 U. S. Statutes at Large, 545.

" Nothing is more certain in history than the fact that Missouri could not have been admitted as a Slave State, had not certain members from the Free States been reconciled to the measure by the incorporation of this prohibition into the Act of admission. Nothing is more certain than that this prohibition has been regarded and accepted by the whole country as a solemn compact against the extension of slavery into any part of the territory acquired from France, lying north of 36 deg. 30 min., and not included in the new State of Missouri. The same Act—let it be ever remembered—which authorized the formation of a Constitution for that State, without a clause forbidding slavery, consecrated, beyond question and beyond honest recall, the whole remainder of the territory to freedom and free institutions for ever. For more than thirty years—during more than half the period of our national existence under our present Constitution—this compact has been universally regarded and acted upon as inviolable American law. In conformity with it, Iowa was admitted as a Free State, and Minnesota has been organized as a Free Territory.

" It is a strange and ominous fact, well calculated to awaken the worst apprehensions and the most fearful forebodings of future calamities, that it is now deliberately purposed to repeal this prohibition, by implication or directly—the latter, certainly, the manlier way—and thus to subvert this compact, and allow slavery in all the yet unorganized territory.

" We cannot, in this address, review the various pretences under which it is attempted to cloak this monstrous wrong; but we must not altogether omit to notice one.

" It is said that the territory of Nebraska sustains the same relations to slavery as did the territory acquired from Mexico prior to 1850, and that the pro-slavery clauses of the bill are necessary to carry into effect the compromises of that year.

" No assertion could be more groundless.

" Three acquisitions of territory have been made by treaty. The first was from France. Out of this territory have been created the three Slave States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, and the single free State of Iowa. The controversy, which arose in relation to the then unorganized portion of this territory, was closed in 1820, by the Missouri Act, containing the slavery prohibition, as has been already stated. This controversy related only to territory acquired from France. The Act, by which it was terminated, was confined, by its own express terms, to the same territory, and had no relation to any other.

" The second acquisition was from Spain. Florida, the territory thus acquired, was yielded to slavery without a struggle, and almost without a murmur.

" The third was from Mexico. The controversy which arose from this acquisition is fresh in the remembrance of the American people. Out of it sprung the Acts of Congress, commonly known as the Compromise Measures of 1850, by one of which California was admitted as a Free State; while two others, organizing the territories of New Mexico and Utah, exposed all the residue of the recently acquired territory to the invasion of slavery.

" These Acts were never supposed to abrogate or touch the existing exclusion of slavery from what is now called Nebraska. They applied to the territory acquired from Mexico, and to that only. They were intended as a settlement of the controversy growing out of that acquisition, and of that controversy only. They must stand or fall by their own merits.

" The statesmen, whose powerful support carried the Utah and New Mexico Acts, never dreamed that their provisions would ever be applied to Nebraska. Even at the last session of Congress, Mr. ATCHISON, of Missouri, in a speech in favour of taking up the former Nebraska Bill, on the morning of the 4th of March 1853, said: 'It is evident that the Missouri Compromise cannot be repealed. So far as that question is concerned, we might as well agree to the admission of this territory now, as next year, or five or ten years hence.' These words could not have fallen from this watchful guardian of slavery, had he supposed that this territory was embraced by the pro-slavery provisions of the Compromise Acts. This pretension had not then been set up. It is a palpable after-thought.

" The Compromise Acts themselves refute this pretension. In the third article of the second section of the Joint Resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, it is expressly declared that '*in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited*;'* and in the Act for organizing New Mexico and settling the boundary of Texas, a proviso was incorporated, on the motion of Mr. MASON, of Virginia, which distinctly preserves this prohibition, and flouts the barefaced pretension that all the territory of the United States, whether south or north of the Missouri Compromise line, is to be open to slavery. It is as follows:

" '*Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify ANY THING contained in the third article of the second section of the Joint Resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March 1, 1845, either as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, OR OTHERWISE.*'†

" Here is proof, beyond controversy, that the principle of the Missouri Act prohibiting slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., far from being abrogated by the Compromise Acts, is expressly affirmed; and that the proposed repeal of this prohibition, instead of being an affirmation of the Compromise Acts, is a repeal of a very prominent provision of the most important Act of the series. It is solemnly declared in the very Compromise Acts, '*that nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify*' the prohibition of slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., and yet, in the face of this declaration, that sacred prohibition is said to be overthrown. Can presumption further go? To all who, in any way,

* Act of March 1, 1845—5 U. S. Statutes at Large, 797.

† Congressional Globe, 1849-50, p. 1552; Act September 9, 1850—9 U. S. Statutes at Large, 446.

lean upon these Compromises, we commend this exposition.

"The pretences, therefore, that the territory, covered by the positive prohibition of 1829, sustains a similar relation to slavery with that acquired from Mexico, covered by no prohibition except that of disputed Constitutional or Mexican law, and that the Compromises of 1850 require the incorporation of the pro-slavery clauses of the Utah and New Mexico Bill in the Nebraska Act, are mere inventions, designed to cover up from public reprehension meditated bad faith. Were he living now, no one would be more forward, more eloquent, or more indignant, in his denunciation of that bad faith, than HENRY CLAY, the foremost champion of both Compromises.

"In 1820, the Slave States said to the Free States, 'Admit Missouri with slavery, and refrain from positive exclusion south of 36 deg. 30 min., and we will join you in perpetual prohibition north of that line.' The Free States consented. In 1854, the Slave States say to the Free States, 'Missouri is admitted; no prohibition of slavery south of 36 deg. 30 min. has been attempted; we have received the full consideration of our agreement; no more is to be gained by adherence to it on our part; we therefore propose to cancel the compact.' If this be not Punic faith, what is it? Not without the deepest dishonour and crime can the Free States acquiesce in this demand.

"We confess our total inability properly to delineate the character or describe the consequences of this measure. Language fails to express the sentiments of indignation and abhorrence which it inspires; and no vision, less penetrating and comprehensive than that of the All-Seeing, can reach its evil issues.

"To some of its more immediate and inevitable consequences, however, we must attempt to direct your attention.

"What will be the effect of this measure, should it unhappily become a law, upon the proposed Pacific railroad? We have already said that two of the principal routes, the Central and the Northern, traverse this territory. If slavery be allowed there, the settlement and cultivation of the country must be greatly retarded. Inducements to the immigration of free labourers will be almost destroyed. The enhanced cost of construction and the diminished expectation of profitable returns will present almost insuperable obstacles to building the road at all; while even if made, the difficulty and expense of keeping it up, in a country from which the energetic and intelligent masses will be virtually excluded, will greatly impair its usefulness and value.

"From the rich lands of this large territory, also, patriotic statesmen have anticipated that a free, industrious, and enlightened population will extract abundant treasures of individual and public wealth. There, it has been expected, freedom-loving emigrants from Europe, and energetic and intelligent labourers of our own land, will find homes of comfort and fields of useful enterprise. If this bill shall become a law, all such expectation will turn to grievous disappointment. The blight of slavery will cover the land. The Homestead law, should Congress enact one,

will be worthless there. Freemen, unless pressed by a hard and cruel necessity, will not, and should not, work beside slaves. Labour cannot be respected where any class of labourers is held in abject bondage. It is the deplorable necessity of slavery, that to make and keep a single slave, there must be slave law; and where slave law exists, labour must necessarily be degraded.

"We earnestly request the enlightened conductors of newspapers printed in the German and other foreign languages to direct the attention of their readers to this important matter.

"It is of immense consequence, also, to scrutinize the geographical character of this project. We beg you, fellow-citizens, to observe that it will sever the East from the West of the United States, by a wide slaveholding belt of country, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to British North America. It is a bold scheme against American liberty, worthy of an accomplished architect of ruin. Texas is already slaveholding, and occupies the Gulf region from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Red River. North of the Red River, and extending between Texas and Arkansas, to the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., lies the Indian territory, about equal in extent to the latter State, in which slavery was not prohibited by the Act of 1820. From 36 deg. 30 min. to the boundary line between our own country and the British Possessions, stretching from West to East through more than eleven degrees of longitude, and from South to North through more than twelve degrees of latitude, extends the great territory, the fate of which is now to be determined by the American Congress. Thus you see, fellow-citizens, that the first operation of the proposed permission of slavery in Nebraska will be to stay the progress of the Free States westward, and to cut off the Free States of the Pacific from the Free States of the Atlantic. It is hoped, doubtless, by compelling the whole commerce and the whole travel between the East and the West to pass for hundreds of miles through a slaveholding region, in the heart of the continent, and by the influence of a Federal Government, controlled by the slave power, to extinguish freedom and establish slavery in the States and territories of the Pacific, and thus permanently subjugate the whole country to the yoke of a slaveholding despotism. Shall a plot against humanity and democracy, so monstrous, and so dangerous to the interests of liberty throughout the world, be permitted to succeed?

"We appeal to the people. We warn you that the dearest interests of freedom and the Union are in imminent peril. Servile demagogues may tell you that the Union can be maintained only by submitting to the demands of slavery. We tell you that the safety of the Union can only be insured by the full recognition of the just claims of freedom and man. The Union was formed to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty. When it fails to accomplish these ends it will be worthless, and when it becomes worthless it cannot long endure.

"We entreat you to be mindful of that fundamental maxim of democracy—EQUAL RIGHTS AND EXACT JUSTICE for all men. Do not submit to become agents in extending legalized op-

pression and systematized injustice over a vast territory yet exempt from these terrible evils.

"We implore Christians and Christian Ministers to interpose. Their divine religion requires them to behold in every man a brother, and to labour for the advancement and regeneration of the human race.

"Whatever apologies may be offered for the toleration of slavery in the States, none can be urged for its extension into territories where it does not exist, and where that extension involves the repeal of ancient law, and the violation of solemn compact. Let all protest, earnestly and emphatically, by correspondence, through the press, by memorials, by resolutions of public meetings and legislative bodies, and in whatever other mode may seem expedient, against this enormous crime.

"For ourselves, we shall resist it by speech and vote, and with all the abilities which God has given us. Even if overcome in the impending struggle, we shall not submit. We shall go home to our constituents; erect anew the standard of freedom, and call on the people to come to the rescue of the country from the domination of slavery. We will not despair: for the cause of human freedom is the cause of God.

"S. P. CHASE,

"*Senator from Ohio.*

"CHARLES SUMNER,

"*Senator from Massachusetts.*

"J. R. GIDDINGS,

"EDWARD WADE,

"*Representatives from Ohio.*

"GERRIT SMITH,

"*Representative from New York.*

"ALEXANDER DE WITT,

"*Representative from Massachusetts.*

"P.S.—The amended Nebraska Bill, introduced by Mr. Douglas, was promptly printed at length in the *Washington Sentinel*. As printed, it did not meet the views of certain Southern gentlemen, and it was then discovered that an important declaratory section, legislating into the bill the principles of the Compromises, had been omitted by a clerical error! Even after this remarkable clerical error had been rectified, the bill was unsatisfactory, and now Mr. Douglas proposes more amendments—to divide the territory into two; to charge the Treasury with the expense of two territorial governments; to strike out the clerical-error section, and insert elsewhere in the bill a clause excepting from the laws of the United States extended over the territory, the Missouri Prohibition. This last amendment will read thus:

"That the Constitution and all laws of the United States, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6th, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the *Compromise Measures*, and is hereby declared inoperative."

"This amendment is a manifest falsification of the truth of history, as is shewn in the body of the foregoing address. Not a man in Congress or out of Congress, in 1850, pretended

that the Compromise Measures would repeal the Missouri Prohibition. Mr. Douglas himself never advanced such a pretence until this session. His own Nebraska Bill, of last session, rejected it. It is a sheer afterthought. To declare the Prohibition inoperative, may, indeed, have effect in law as a repeal, but it is a most discreditable way of reaching the object. Will the people permit their dearest interests to be thus made the mere hazards of a Presidential game, and destroyed by false facts and false inferences?"

Miscellanea.

NEGRO SHOT.—The *Huntsville Item* says a runaway negro was shot the other day in Madison county, by a Mr. Friley, while he was attempting to run away from him. The negro died in about thirteen hours after, and stated that he belonged to a Mr. Yancey, of Bell county.

ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—We hear of no less than seven slaves who deserted from Norfolk and Portsmouth on Sunday, and, we have no doubt, made their escape in the steamer "Star of the West," which put in here and left again for New York on that day. The opportunity was a most favourable one for their purpose; but it is more than probable that some secret agent prompted them to avail it. Is there no way to counteract such daring violations of our law?

The question is becoming a serious one to our citizens; and if our own law and the "higher law" had been enforced in the case of the "Star of the West," (as we trust they will hereafter be) it is not to be supposed that our citizens would have thus been despoiled of their property. One of the runaways was the man Harrison, who has been living with Mr. James Smiley in this city for twenty-eight years. He took with him his two sons, fourteen and sixteen years old, belonging to a family in Portsmouth.—*Norfolk Herald*.

The Voice of the Fugitive, Nov. 26, published a call for a National Emigration Convention of Coloured Men, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of August 1854; an appeal to the coloured women of America for a more vigorous co-operation with the escaped in the anti-slavery cause; and the last report from the Windsor, C. W. branch of the underground railroad, which is as follows:

"Twenty-four fugitives arrived here on Wednesday morning, 23d instant. They were closely pursued by slave-hunters, who arrived in Detroit about the same time, offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the apprehension of the victims of their search; but the invisible train on which the fugitives came (being under ground) was imperceptible to slave-hunters until they reached the Canadian shore.

Three more were landed here this morning, and two last night, from Kentucky. We bid them welcome to Canada: there is work enough here on the Great Western railroad to employ five hundred able-bodied men at fair wages.

A CRIMINAL OFFENCE.—A negro, belonging to Mr. Hugh Nelson, of Petersburg, was arrested by officer Tyler this morning, for going at large. She was sent for trial to the court of Hustings.—*Evening (Va.) Bulletin*.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter,
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1st, 1854.

COLOURED LECTURERS.—CAUTION.

We have to caution the public—and especially our anti-slavery friends—against certain coloured men who are now going through the country, with and without a panorama or dissolving views, delivering lectures on American Slavery, Temperance, and other subjects. A case of gross deception has recently come to our knowledge, the particulars of which we do not feel justified in publishing, as we have checked the evil in this instance, and our desire is rather to warn those who are most likely to be imposed upon, than to visit those who have deluded the public with the penalties their delinquencies merit. We strongly recommend our friends, throughout the country, not to give countenance to any individuals professing to be fugitive slaves, unless the latter present some satisfactory recommendation, and can give an account of themselves and of the manner in which they reached the country, which will bear investigation. Whilst we would not, on any account, divert benevolence from a worthy object, we feel it incumbent upon us to do all that lies in our power to prevent it from being practised upon. We are constrained to observe, that if anti-slavery friends would, as a rule, observe a little more caution, impostors would not find it so easy to make dupes. The class of men who form the subject of this notice, calculate upon the sympathy of the public, particularly those who are known to be interested in the promotion of the Anti-slavery cause, and they lay their plans with an especial view to practise upon those, whom they are aware are already pre-disposed to listen to a skilfully-invented and well-told tale of woe, and suffering, and hair-breadth escapes. Such impostors damage the cause, and bring discredit upon the race which we are striving to rescue from degradation and misery, besides doing a serious injury to the really deserving. A line of inquiry addressed to the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 27 New Broad Street, will, in case of doubt, perhaps be instrumental in preventing many well-meaning persons from being imposed upon. We trust our friends will bear this caution in mind.

SUGAR, SLAVERY, AND EMANCIPATION.—No. II.

In our former article on the above subject, we asserted that the antiquated system of manufacturing cane-sugar, pursued in the West Indies—and we may add in all countries where this commodity is made—involves a positive destruction, waste, and misappropriation, of nearly three-fourths of the produce actually

obtained from any given quantity of canes. The announcement was startling. We have to prove that it is also true.

This enormous amount of waste proceeds from the three following causes:

1st. The imperfect expression of the juice from the canes.

2dly. From imperfect defecation of the juice, and from skimming it during the process of boiling it to the sugar-point.

3dly. The imperfect conversion of the saccharine portion of the juice into crystallized sugar.

We will take these points in order.

In relation to the quantity of crystallizable sugar which the cane contains, Mr. Thomas Kerr, a planter in Antigua, who prosecuted extensive experiments in that island, previously to publishing, in 1851, his *Practical Treatise on the Cultivation of the Sugar-cane and the Manufacture of Sugar*, and the value of whose testimony will not, we conceive, be questioned, says:

“The cane, when ripe, contains, according to Peligot,* and other analysts, about eighteen per cent. of sugar, ten per cent. of ligneous matter, and seventy-two per cent. of water, with a small amount of impurities, varying in quantity with the nature of the soil or the circumstances under which the canes are grown.”

From the foregoing statement, which is corroborated by other authorities,† it is easy to gather that the cane ought to yield about ninety per cent. of juice; nor is there any reason why every particle of it should not be extracted.‡ But how far this is from being the fact, will be best shewn by another quotation from the same author. He observes:

“From experiments which have been made, it is certain that the mills commonly in use do not extract more than from fifty to sixty per cent. of the juice of the canes passed through them. Indeed, I may say, from what I have myself observed, that the average return scarcely exceeds fifty per cent., or very little more than half the saccharine matter contained in the canes; which shews what a serious loss is sustained by the defective method of pressure alone. * * * * It is evident, from what I have here stated and quoted, that it is in the power of the planter, by making the requisite alterations in the machinery for crushing canes, to extract fifty per cent. more sugar than is now done; or, in other words, every estate now making a hundred tons of sugar, loses fifty tons in the megass:‡ one-third of a crop which has been brought to maturity at a heavy expense, and the proceeds of which, if brought

* A distinguished French chemist.

† Vide Porter, on *Sugar and its Products*. Wray's *Practical Sugar Planter*. Dr Ure's *Dictionary of Arts*: Article Sugar: &c.

‡ Mr. Bessemer's mill, tried on stale canes from Madeira, expressed 80 per cent. of juice, in the presence of some of the principal West India merchants and planters.

§ The residue of the cane after it is crushed.—
(Ed. A. S. R.)

into the market, instead of being wasted in the megass, would, were it manufactured even in the usual faulty manner, in a short time be sufficient for the purchase of a steam-engine and improved mill, and so save the necessity of embarking further capital. The average yearly loss of sugar in the West Indies, from this source alone, is supposed to amount to 70,000 tons.*

Supported by such testimony, we may assert, without fear of contradiction, that we have proved our first allegation, namely; that of the eighteen parts of crystallizable sugar contained in the cane, eight parts are left in the megass, and burnt for fuel; to expedite the spoiling of the remainder.

According to these data, the positive loss of sugar, on the West-India crop of 1852, must have amounted to not less than 1,700,000 cwt.*

We will next proceed to establish the amount of loss of juice—for sugar-making purposes—arising from imperfect defecation, and from the wasteful process of skimming.

It is well known that the planter's primary object, after having expressed the juice from his canes, is to procure a clear liquor, as free from impurities as he can possibly get it. To remove these impurities, the planter has recourse to a process called defecation.

Without entering into the details of this process, which is well known to planters, we may observe that it is so imperfect as to involve the necessity of skimming the juice during the whole period of its being boiled to the sugar-point, entailing a waste, the amount of which has been established beyond a doubt, by Dr. John Shier, Agricultural Chemist to the colony of British Guiana. In May 1850, this gentleman addressed to His Excellency Henry Barkly, Esq., then Governor of the colony, (now Sir Henry Barkly, and Governor of Jamaica,) a *Report on the Clarification of Cane-juice*, setting forth the experiments he had tried, during a lengthened period, and their results.

In relation to one method, that of *clarification by cold tempering*, he says it is the worst of all methods, though so very common in practice, and that it scarcely deserves the name. He then details the principal defects of this system, concluding his enumeration as follows:

"7th. That the loss of juice removed with the sediment, and also of the juice and syrup removed with the skimmings, is very large.

"To this point I have given much attention, both on the large scale and on the small, and I am satisfied, that on most estates in this colony, where the method of cold tempering is pursued, not less than twenty per cent. of the whole juice is thus lost for the purpose of making sugar. In some instances I have found it amount to twenty-five per cent.

"On the whole, then, the method of cold-tempering is so wasteful, rude, and inefficient a pro-

cess, that it ought at once to be abandoned for some better method."

Dr. Shier devotes another chapter to the subject of *clarification by the process of cracking*, which is the one most extensively, indeed generally employed in the West-India islands, as well as on many estates in British Guiana. But though he states it to possess some advantages over the other, he condemns it as objectionable, being attended with many inconveniences, and much waste. As the latter is the point with which we have at present to do, we will quote his own testimony:

"2d. That juice clarified in this manner, throws up a considerable amount of scum during the process of concentration.

"3d. That from this cause, as well as the quantity of juice that is lost along with the scum of the clarifier and the sediment, there is scarcely less loss of juice than by the method of cold tempering."

In another place, and with reference to a new clarifying process which he recommends for adoption, he states, as illustrative of the great saving it effects:

"2d. Means are taken which enable us to substitute subsidence and filtration for imperfect subsidence and skimming, whereby about 20 per cent. more of the juice is available for being made into sugar."

Now, unless Dr. Shier's testimony can be set aside, we are warranted in asserting, that on the crop of 1852, the loss—for sugar-making purposes—occasioned by imperfect defecation and by skimming, did not amount to less than 1,359,504 cwts. of cane-juice boiled to the sugar-point, or 679,752 cwts. of sugar, and the same weight of molasses; as we shall presently shew.

We have thus demonstrated a total loss and waste, from two sources alone, of more than 3,000,000 cwts. of sugar and molasses on the West-India crop of 1852.

But the cane-juice having been thus imperfectly defecated, and in due course reduced by boiling to the sugar-point, that is, to a state of "concentrated juice," is next potted into perforated hogsheads, which are set to drain over cisterns, in order to separate the molasses from the sugar. This process is usually completed in about six weeks, at the end of which period the sugar is considered to be in a sufficiently dry state for shipment.

The planter having already destroyed fifty per cent. of his sugar in the megass, and wasted, in consequence of imperfect defecation and by skimming, twenty per cent. of the juice, and consequently of the sugar that remained, and having now brought his crop into sugar and molasses, it might reasonably be imagined that at this point waste and loss would cease. Not at all; for his sugar is usually shipped in such an imperfectly cured state, that before it is delivered to the wholesale or retail purchaser, it has been greatly reduced in bulk by drainage at sea during transit, and in the warehouse after arrival.

* In our last we did not include this amount in our statement of the deficiency on the crop of 1852.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

In the absence of positively official data, we have been at considerable pains to arrive at accurate information respecting the amount of waste from this source. We have not confined ourselves to one island, nor generalized upon the knowledge of an isolated fact: we have taken nothing on individual testimony, but sought to arrive at the truth from every available and reliable source: under these circumstances, therefore, and notwithstanding exceptional cases, we are warranted in asserting that the average loss at sea on sugar, shipped to England from the West Indies, does not amount to less than fifteen per cent. during the transit, and two per cent. in the docks, after arrival, making seventeen per cent. in all.*

From similar sources of information we have also ascertained that molasses lose at least twenty per cent., and rum loses about eight per cent.

From these data, therefore, it is demonstrable that there was a loss on the shipments of sugar of the crop for 1852, amounting to 577,789 cwt.; on molasses, 94,587 cwt.; and on rum, 404,641 gallons; or its equivalent in molasses and skimmings amounting to 68,652 cwt., reckoning according to Wray and others, 19lbs. of molasses and skimmings to one gallon of rum; making a total of 163,239 cwt.

Having referred to cane-juice boiled to the sugar-point, it is important to mention here, that in this state it is said to contain equal proportions of sugar and molasses. This has been affirmed upon testimony of undoubted credibility. We have before us a copy of the Memorial alluded to in our last article, addressed in 1846 to the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, then President of the Board of Trade, praying that concentrated cane-juice might be admitted at a fixed duty. It is to be presumed that the highly respectable gentlemen who signed this Memorial sought only to secure the imposition, on the new article, of a rate of duty strictly equitable. They therefore based their demand upon their knowledge of the components of cane-juice boiled to the sugar-point, and prayed that the duty upon it should be fixed accordingly. We append the extract relating to this point:

"That, in order to obviate the delay, loss, and inconvenience that will otherwise attend the future importations of concentrated cane-juice, as well as to afford planters the required encouragement for successfully meeting the competition they have been compelled to encounter, your Memorialists respectfully urge that Her Majesty's Government will cause steps to be

taken to fix a permanent duty upon the article of concentrated cane-juice; and with a view that this application may be the more readily granted, your Memorialists would even suggest, rather than suffer from a continuance of the present unsatisfactory arrangements, that Her Majesty's Government should fix a maximum rate of duty—say the highest rate that the article can equitably bear; supposing that the concentrated cane-juice be boiled to the striking point, consequently containing, with the exception of a small proportion of unevaporated water, nothing but sugar and molasses, which, in Demerara, is estimated at about half of each, and that upon payment of such fixed duty, all shipments may at once be cleared upon importation.

"That, in order to terminate, if possible, the many vexatious difficulties that have hitherto attended the non-adjustment of this protracted question, your Memorialists would further venture to state, that the Revenue cannot fail to be increased, either by the adoption of the suggestions herein respectfully offered for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, or by charging the sugar-duty on one half, and the molasses-duty on the other moiety of all future importations of concentrated cane-juice; an arrangement that your Memorialists consider strictly equitable, and in accordance with the results arrived at by the Demerara planters, which your Memorialists have already alluded to.

"May it, therefore, please your Lordship to take this very important subject into your Lordship's immediate consideration, and to give such directions thereon, as to your Lordship may seem most advisable.

"London, 5th October 1846."*

This important document was signed by the following firms:

Messrs. T. Daniel and Co.; Hibbert and Co.; Cavan, Brothers, and Co.; Davidson and Co.; A. and G. Milne and Co.; Cottam, Morton, and Co.; J. Liggins and Co.; John Kingston and Co.; Boddington and Co.; Baillie, Kerr, and Co.; Bosanquet and Naghten; W. A. Parker and Co.; Rainey, Bruce, and Co.; Timperon and Dobinson; Reid, Irving, and Co.; J. Marryat and Sons; Grant and Kemshead; Anderson and Smith; Ellice, Kinnear, and Co.; A. Denoon and Co.; Block and Grey; Cornfoot and Elmslie; T. and W. King; Hawthorn and Shedden; A. Paull and Co.; Cruickshank, Melville, and Co.; J. Constable, J. Hopkinson, and J. W. Chapman, Langford Lovell Hodge, J. H. Noding, and C. Richardson.

We presume, therefore, we may confidently assert, on the authority of these honourable gentlemen, that for every hundred-weight of dry sugar that is landed in England, or is produced in the West Indies, there is also produced a hundred-weight of molasses: and if, previously to the juice's attaining this point of concentration, it has lost not less than 20 per cent. in scum and in sediment, as has been

* Dutrone, the celebrated French colonial chemist, and writer on Sugar, says that "the loss amounts to 20 per cent. on the shipments of sugar from the French colonies." Dr. Ure says, "from 12 to 15 per cent. in the ships;" but he takes no account of the further loss in the warehouses.

(Ed. A. S. R.)

* Vide Appendix No. 2 to 3d Report from the Select Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting. 1846-48.

established by Dr. Shier ; (and we believe the present case to be the only one in which an *if* leaves no room to assume a doubt,) then the official return moved for by Mr. Moffatt last year,* and which exhibits an importation of sugar from the West-India colonies amounting to 3,398,760 cwts., furnishes a positive basis for asserting that this figure represents a total bulk of cane-juice boiled to the sugar-point, of 8,157,024 cwts. Of this large quantity, however, only 4,729,814 cwts. were brought into the market in the form of sugar, molasses, and rum ; leaving to be accounted for not less than 3,427,183 cwts. of produce actually obtained, besides the enormous quantity that was burnt in the megass, and which never found its way even into the clarifiers.

Massing together, then, these various items of loss, and waste, and misappropriation, and startling as the assertion may sound, we come to the conclusion that there was a total deficiency on the West-India crop of 1852, amounting to 5,327,210 cwts. ; and that, had the quantity of canes that were positively ground been converted to the best account, they would have yielded the enormous return of 10,157,024 cwts. of juice boiled to the sugar-point, the whole of which might have been rendered available for consumption.

In singular confirmation of this statement, we will give another quotation from Kerr, who, after testing the accuracy of the investigations conducted by M. Daubrée, another eminent authority, comes to the following conclusion :

"M. Daubrée does not in the slightest degree exaggerate the loss accruing by the usual process, when he states the planter's return, under the most favourable circumstances, upon 18 per cent. of sugar contained in the canes, as follows : 8 per cent. left in the megass ; and of the 10 per cent. expressed, 5 per cent. passes into cisterns, ships' holds, and warehouses, as molasses, leaving only 5 per cent. to meet expenses.

"This agrees with what every planter of observation must have noticed ; for even when canes, after being fully ripe, are ground, giving a juice of a density equal to 12° Beaumé, and containing 22 per cent. of sugar, it requires from 12 to 14 tons of canes to give 1500 gallons of juice, the quantity required to produce a hogshead, netting 15 cwt. in the English market, and therefore not yielding to the planter a return of more than 6 per cent. of moist, muscovado sugar, and that often of a very inferior quality."

Dr. Ure does not give even so favourable a return as Mr. Kerr. He affirms that :

"The average quantity of grained sugar obtained from cane-juice, in our colonial plantations, is probably not more than one third of the quantity of crystalline sugar in the juice which they boil."

Comment becomes almost superfluous in presence of such facts as these, and it is truly matter of surprise that so little real

advance should have been made in a branch of tropical industry, the successful prosecution of which is wholly in the planter's own hands, and his neglect of which not only brings embarrassment and ruin upon himself, but entails upon hundreds of thousands of human beings, sufferings at which humanity shudders. Nor are we singular in the expression of the opinion, that "if the West-India planters find their estates unprofitable, the fault lies at their own door," and is not chargeable to Emancipation. There is not a writer on the important subject of West-India improvement, who does not, either directly or by implication, ascribe the embarrassments of the West-India proprietary to the foregoing cause chiefly ; who does not condemn the imperfect and wasteful process of manufacturing sugar in general use, and the present system of managing sugar-estates ; and who does not affirm, in emphatic language, that our transatlantic colonies possess within themselves inexhaustible resources, and abundant elements of prosperity, requiring for their development only energy, skill, and economy on the part of the proprietary body.

We presume it will not be disputed, that if the quantity of saccharine produce imported from our West-India colonies were either equal to or in excess of the demand for home-consumption, there would be little or no room for the foreign planter in the British sugar-market. As, however, the demand for home-consumption is greatly in excess of the present supply from our West-India colonies, the advanced price of the raw staple affords the foreign grower a sufficient margin to enable him to supplement a large proportion of this deficiency, to the detriment of his British competitor.

For the eighteen months—that is, from the 5th of July 1850 to the 5th of January 1852—the total demand for saccharine produce, for home-consumption, was : sugar, 9,727,689 cwts., molasses, 1,286,071 cwts., and rum, 4,349,061 gallons, equivalent to 737,788 cwts. of molasses and skimmings ; making a gross total of 11,751,548 cwts. For the same period, the imports from the West-India colonies were : sugar, 4,252,595 cwts., molasses, 722,896 cwts., and rum, 6,216,059 gallons, equivalent to 1,054,510 cwts. of molasses and skimmings, presenting a total of 6,030,000 cwts. But these imports represented a crop of 10,206,228 cwts. of juice boiled to the sugar-point, consequently there was a deficiency upon it amounting to 4,176,227 cwts. Now, the clearances for home-consumption, of saccharine produce imported from foreign colonies, during the same period, were, 2,037,144 cwts. of sugar, and 527,286 cwts. of molasses, making a gross total of 2,564,430 cwts. It will therefore be seen, that the demand for saccharine produce, for home-consumption, was in excess of the supply from the West-India colonies, to the amount of 5,721,548

* No. 461. 9 May 1853. *A Tabular Return of the Quantities of Sugar, Molasses, and Rum, &c., imported into the United Kingdom, &c.*

cwts., of which 2,564,490 cwts. were supplied by the foreign planter; the remainder having been furnished from the Mauritius and the East Indies.*

Thus, whilst as one consequence of the deficiency on the imports from the West-India colonies—a deficiency arising wholly from the sources we have pointed out—the demand for saccharine produce, for home-consumption, exceeded the supply from those colonies by nearly a hundred per cent., the waste, and loss, and misappropriation, positively exceeded the quantity furnished by the foreign planter to supply the deficiencies thus occasioned, by nearly two hundred per cent.

In the foregoing calculation, we have included the imports of rum, in order to give the West-India merchants the full benefit of their present system of converting a portion of their crop into this pernicious commodity. Not more than 124 gallons of it were imported from foreign colonies during the above-mentioned period.

The object we have had in view in writing the present article, has been simply to substantiate the allegations of waste which we brought in our last against the West-India planters and merchants, and to adduce the evidence and the data on which those allegations were founded. We submit that we have proved our case, and now challenge demonstration to the contrary.

In our next we shall proceed to the consideration of the means which have been suggested for remedying the evils we have dwelt upon, and obviating the waste and loss we have pointed out. Meanwhile, we cannot more appropriately conclude the present article, than by quoting an extract from a leader in the *Trinidadian* of the 17th and 21st December ultimo. The testimony is all the more valuable, coming, as it does, direct from the colony, where the writer may be supposed to have access to the best source of information on a subject so essentially practical as the one we have been treating; namely, to the boiling-house. He says:

"If our planters could obtain all the sugar which they make in the fields, they need not be jealous of the gold mines of Australia. But notwithstanding all that has been said, written, and proposed about the manufacture of Muscovado sugar, little, if any progress has been made in the boiling-houses. The old rule of thumb is continually adopted, and more sugar is burnt and spoiled every year than would pay for all the expenses of the Colonial Government, high as they are. Sugar-making is a chemical process; but chemistry is as little understood by those who have either to superintend the manipulations of the boiling-house, or who have to boil the sugar themselves, as alchemy was understood by the ancients."

* *Sugar and Molasses. Return, 296. Mr. James Wilson. 3 May 1852*

THE EMANCIPADOS OF CUBA.

THE new Captain-General of Cuba has issued a decree commanding the liberation of the *Emancipados*. This class of bondmen is one composed entirely of negroes that have been found on board of slavers taken within the Cuban waters, and conveyed into the port for adjudication by the Mixed-Commission Court sitting at Havana, and of those who, having been surreptitiously landed, have been subsequently followed and re-captured, and placed out as labourers, under the surveillance of the Court. In previous numbers we have adverted to the abuses to which this system of hiring out men entitled to their freedom has given rise. It amounted in itself to absolute slavery; besides which it is notorious that once an *emancipado* had been conveyed to a plantation, he soon became merged in the body of slaves, and either on or before the expiration of his term of servitude, would probably be reported as dead to the parties who held him, and all traces of him lost. The object of assigning to planters the negroes who, by the force of circumstances, had come under the protectorate of the Mixed-Commission Court, appears to have been wholly a mistaken one, namely, to prepare them for liberty. Without staying to comment upon this subject, we will append an extract from the *Annual Report on the Slave Trade*, of Mr. Crawford, Acting Commissary Judge at Havana. It is dated 1st January 1852, and illustrates very forcibly the condition of this class of unfortunates. He says, addressing Lord Palmerston:

"The Bozals captured at Cardenas, amounting to 414, have been assigned to various persons for certain periods, as usual, and (as is officially put forth) in order to prepare them for the enjoyment of their freedom, after they have received their civil and religious instruction; but, my Lord, the day of their receiving their freedom is far, far off, if it ever does come. The slave may be manumitted by his master; he may purchase his freedom, as many do, by saving up all the moneys they get; but the *emancipado* can only be freed by the Government of the island: money constantly procures his re-assignment for new periods of slavery and degradation, but it cannot purchase his freedom. The re-assignment of the *emancipados* has been to those in authority here a source of wealth, and it is time to insist that all those of that class, over whom Her Majesty's Government has a right to watch, should be rescued from their distressed situation, and that all those that were captured by our cruisers should be given their free papers. As respects this class, I have considered it my duty to bring this urgent part of the humanity of Her Majesty's Government interference under your Lordship's notice, upon former occasions, with your Lordship's approbation, but the Captains-General of Cuba, one after the other, have failed to comply with the arrangement which was come to with General Valdez for the liberation of all

the *emancipados* within a period long since elapsed. It seems that they are allowed by the Government of Spain to deny us the satisfaction we have a right to demand respecting those much-abused people, who are in the mean time groaning in all the miseries of slavery, from which we ought to rescue them.

"Your Lordship is no doubt aware that the *emancipado*, amongst other things, is exposed to be substituted for the slave, in which case he is reported as dead. This is practised to considerable extent, and money obtains the false certificate. It is said that the 96 Bozals seized at Trinidad have all been disposed of by being substituted even before they were declared *emancipados*. I hear that they were all reported dead; and as so long a time has passed since their capture, and there has been no official notice upon the subject sent by the Captain-General to the Mixed Court, I am disposed to think that what I have heard is true."*

It has been with a knowledge of such facts as these, of the crying injustice done to a class of men, condemned to suffering and unrequited toil, and of the circumstance that they were thus held to servitude in spite of treaty stipulations to the contrary, that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have constantly urged Her Majesty's Government to take measures for procuring the liberation of these unfortunates. What their numbers may have been, at any given time, there does not appear to be any present means of ascertaining. In his evidence before the Committee, from whose report we have already quoted, Mr. Kennedy, who for upwards of thirteen years held the important office of Judge of the Mixed Court at Havana, states in relation to the number freed within his term of office, that Valdez gave liberty to about 1400; that since Valdez' time (1841 to 1843) 1400 have been sent over to Jamaica; that a great number, it may be supposed, had died, and that there are perhaps 200 or 300 remaining now; not more. As Mr. Kennedy possessed the means of procuring accurate information on this subject, we may accept his evidence as conclusive. It is, then, on behalf of this small number, that the Captain-General of Cuba has issued the elaborate document we append. Valdez set the 1400 *emancipados* whom he liberated, free at once without any decree; and notwithstanding our satisfaction to find measures are being taken to secure, within a given period, the liberation of men who ought never to have been consigned to bondage, we confess ourselves disappointed that the decree should have contained any thing to give even the appearance of legality to a re-contracting for fresh service. This one provision, in our estimation, opens the door to all the old abuses, some of which have been so power-

fully alluded to by Mr. Consul Crawford. To decree their freedom is doing nothing more than fulfilling treaty obligations. To give to any local authorities the power of re-contracting for service, on behalf of the *emancipado*, is to declare that the man is only conditionally and nominally free; and a similar view appears to be taken of the subject by the Havana correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, as also by the correspondent of the *Daily News*, who, writing from Havana, under date of the 12th January ultimo, further says, in relation to Art. 4 of the decree:

"Those that are under the immediate eye of the government will, of course, be returned, but I very much doubt if efficient negroes removed any distance from the city will ever find their way into it as freemen. The cholera of the past year has made sad havoc among the *emancipados*, and for every creole negro deceased, where *emancipados* exist upon the same estate, one freedom is lost. Although those planters who do not produce the subjects declared free are liable to pay the fine, there is no power given to the authorities to enter upon the estates and compel their surrender.

"We shall soon begin to learn how the new machinery will work, and also something of the substitution of colonization from other countries. I hear of outfits for the coast of Africa for apprentices or colonists upon an extensive scale, which implies that there is authoritative sanction somewhere; but if they can be run in without observation they will be passed among the class to be freed at the time, yet to be determined, when there shall be no more slave piracy in Cuba."

Without, however, enlarging on the subject, we will leave our readers to judge for themselves:

"POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

"His Excellency the Governor Captain-General has been pleased to direct that from to-day shall be carried into effect that which is ordered in the ordinance of the *emancipados*, published in the official *Gazette* on the 20th of December last, and on the 1st of the present, ordering in consequence that the masters of all emancipated negroes, without exception, shall deliver them up at this Secretaryship within the term of five days, if in this capital, and within fifteen if in the country, with the understanding that a non-compliance with the order will subject them to the penalties set down in article fourth of the referred-to ordinance. Havanna, Jan. 3, 1854.

"ORDINANCE RELATIVE TO EMANCIPADOS.

ARTICLE 1. The negroes known by the name of *emancipados* are all free. Those who have served five years in the power of the authorities, and are ten years of age, will obtain their free papers, and those who remain in this island may dispose of their wages as they have a right to, without other discount for the deposit than a part, which shall never pass a fourth.

"ART. 2. Those which have not served five years will only be different from the others, in not being able to dispose of the proceeds of their labour, which will be under trust during the apprenticeship.

* Appendix to Report from the Select Committee on Slave-trade Treaties; 1853. Page 181.

"ART. 3. A board approved by the Captain-General will administer these funds, and take care of the emancipated negroes, according to the regulations published. A part of this board will be composed of the syndics and Corporation of Havana, and it shall be denominated: *Board of Protection of the Emancipated Negroes*.

"ART. 4. When the Government shall decree the manumission of the emancipated negroes, that finish their apprenticeship, it will convoke, through *The Official Gazette*, their masters, to present, in the term of five days if in this capital, and in fifteen if in the country; failing to do which a fine of from 50 dols. to 100 dols. will be incurred, besides the expense of searching for the negroes, being on account of unwilling parties whom experience has taught the authorities have been guilty of lamentable abuses, which it is determined to extirpate at all costs.

"ART. 5. The freedman will be contracted for, through the intervention of Government, with the patron, for the term of one year, under the form and conditions contained in the following form:

"I, —, emancipated freedman, — nation, number —, belonging to ship —, declare: that I have contracted freely and spontaneously with the Government for the term of — years, to give my labour in what I may be ordered to do, during the hours of the day according to custom, submitting myself to the person to whom I may be transferred, (being myself advised of the same,) and to those in his employ, whom I will obey and respect, they being at liberty to compel me to comply with this contract by legal means, in conformity with that which is decreed in the ordinance for colonists. There shall be paid in requital for my labour — dollars per month, from which shall be discounted one-fourth, which the Government will receive, to attend to the indemnification of this branch. I am to be fed and two suits of clothing shall be given to me, and in my sickness I shall be cared for and assisted without being obliged to work until quite well, deducting from my wages the days thus lost: I shall not be obliged to work on Sundays nor two cross days, as I can employ these for my own benefit. In fulfilment of which I sign this contract in presence of the President and Secretary of the Protecting Board of Emancipated Negroes, they in the name of Government subscribing to this, I signing it with a cross, not knowing how to write.—Havana, &c. We transfer this contract in the name of the Government to —, who signs it as a demonstration of his acceptance of it, and he is bound to comply with it religiously, as to the contrary he will be compelled to do so through the means indicated in the ordinance for colonists.—Havana, &c.

—, President.

—, Secretary.

"ART. 6. The patron shall deliver to the freedman, monthly, his wages, according to the contract, and to deposit one-fourth part for the year in advance.

"ART. 7. That the consignations may be best to the interests of the contractors, with the election most convenient to the patrons, all petitions for freedom shall be directed to the Government, which will hand them to the Board, which will return them, with information in regard to a concession or a negative.

"ART. 8. Should any of the emancipated negroes contract desire for any cause to change his master, the Board shall hear his complaint, and should it be found just, it will make it known to the Government for the purpose of taking the proper steps. It shall be the organ also of all claims on the authorities, applying in these cases all the ordinances analogous governing colonists.

"ART. 9. If the patrons should desire to continue the contracted for another term, and the freedman willing, it may be done by a note at foot of old contract, but with the intervention of the nearest authority, who shall advise the Government, which will inform the Board,

"ART. 10. The emancipated apprentices shall be contracted in the same manner, but it will be preferred to place them in or near the capitol, that they may be near the Board of Protection, and their wages shall be paid to this Board four months in advance.

"ART. 11. There shall be a Treasurer to take charge of these funds, and others who shall be gentlemen of this Benevolent Board, and named by the Government at the indication of said Board; also the President and Secretary in like manner.

"ART. 12. Also, there shall be an Administrator of the Deposit, who shall not be an individual of the Board, who shall receive a salary proportionate to his labour, which the Government will assign him, with the Board's proposal.

"ART. 13. Should any employé be indispensable, the Board shall propose such, having present how economical and simple the administration of the property of the poor should be.

"ART. 14. The Administrator of the Deposit shall pass twice a week to the Board a classified statement of the increase and decrease of the emancipated. This shall not prevent the President, also, to give information in regard to any extraordinary occurrence in the Deposit.

ART. 15. The said Administrator shall remain in the Deposit with the greatest assiduity possible, and shall permit the Deposit to be visited, and those deposited to be reviewed, and notes taken in regard to all presented, and this, with an order from the President, authorising the same.

"ART. 16. For the indemnification considered just, that the Board may acknowledge due to the patrons, touching any of the cases arising from compliance with these regulations, the Secretary of the Governor-General will give a document, without which requisite no payment shall be made.

"ART. 17. The Board shall name every month one of its number, who shall examine the emancipated that are in deposit, and inform himself of the number not hired, be it from age or infirmity, bad conduct or other causes, and shall give an account to the Board, that it may propose to the Government the resolutions it may consider convenient.

ART. 18. The amount of wages to be received by the freedmen, also the apprentices, shall be the same in each class. The Board shall name it each year, taking into account the amount of labour in market. And in respect to those under age, the benevolent protection due to these unfortunate beings shall always be considered before interest.

"ART. 19. To the wants of the last mentioned in particular, and of all classes of emancipated negroes in general, all the residues of funds, that the wise economy of the Board shall gather, shall be applied.

"MARQUIS PEZUELA.

"Havana, Jan. 1, 1854."

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE gather, from various sources, that the importation of slaves into Cuba is being prosecuted with undiminished activity, notwithstanding the removal of Canedo, and the appointment in his place of the Marquis de Pezuela. It is, perhaps, premature to judge of a man holding so responsible an office, and surrounded by so many difficulties. The traffic in slaves being illicit, every expedient is of course resorted to, to evade the authorities, though it is affirmed they cannot be cheated in this respect, unless they choose. The reports which reach this country of Pezuela's character and determination are favourable, and we trust that his actions may not disappoint the hopes entertained of him.

The Havana correspondent of the *New York Tribune* gives the following item of news, under date of the 7th January last:

"You have heard that General Canedo has given his seat over to his successor, and retired from public life to enjoy his immense accumulations, which I am told amount to near 600,000 dollars, exclusive of his salary, that being 250,000 dollars a year. He was not liked by the people as Tacon and Concha, his predecessors, were; he did not seem to take the same interest in the welfare of the people that the others did. His reforms, if he made any, were in society and its virtues, and not in his government, or by improvements, and those reforms were such, that the utility of them might be questioned.

"The new Captain-General has the appearance of a man possessing much energy and foresight—well calculated to superintend the general affairs of Cuba at this critical time. His word is the law, and I would judge that he will expect to be obeyed. His complexion is dark and figure rather commanding, dresses well and makes a good appearance. His eye is slow in motion, unless excited; then it seems to be looking everywhere. I would advise the Junta to be careful that none of their members come under his control, as their life would be of but short duration. I would judge that Spain had made a good choice of a General to command her armies in Cuba. His post will be well protected both with civil and military tact.

"During the last summer 22,000 negroes died with the cholera, which has very materially increased their value, and in some cases left planters without hands to take off their crops; yet I should judge that the sugar crop will yield more than an average amount this year, owing to its having escaped the usual hurricanes, and the greater interest which has been shewn in its production."

The correspondent of the *Daily News*, who

dates from Havana, 12th January, after adverting to the measures of the new Captain-General, observes:

"In the mean time we have had in the few days past successful landings of cargoes by five vessels; two at or near Sagra la Grand, 750 Africans, entered, permitted, and distributed by a person whose name I enclose for publication, or your private information, as you may think fit; and others, without detection by the local authorities, but not without their connivance and knowledge. Landings have also been effected at Trinidad and vicinity by two vessels, of 798 Africans, under the ministration of two persons, long of notoriety in that community as the most unscrupulous and daring agents of African piracy. These negroes were landed, and secreted upon two convenient estates. Their subsequent removal was effected under permits of transmission from one estate to another, as if they were of the ancient stock of the island, which will cover the transaction from the discovery of justice. The same cargo was sold by parcels, "one parcel" being "one negro" at public auction in the city of Trinidad, about the 20th or 21st and 22d of last month. The sale was of several days' continuance, as there was much competition for the labour "parcels;" and was stopped the first day at bids of 30 ounces each (510 dols.), but the succeeding days they went off at a good advance above that—say 550 dols. to 600 dols.

"The fifth landing was effected near Cienfuegos, of 480; some of the parties and agents of the two last cargoes, named above, being interested in this venture. The landing was made good, like the others, the transit permits issued, and the whole safely escorted to an estate of the neighbourhood, where the partition was effected by sale of the whole lot, making a total, with 160 perished by the way, of 2180 Africans in December. The prices have ranged high, owing to the great want at the moment for the commencement of the rolling season, and the chance of getting the long term of service until the abolition of slavery.

"General Pezuela is determined that the traffic shall cease, and he will hold to severe account every party that may be implicated in illegal introduction, if he can find them; and on evidence all officers of every grade where the landings are effected will be removed. This will not be so hard on the official, for, at two or three ounces a head, they will have made a business that will enable them to retire to something more legal, if not to honest pursuits.

"The orders, although prepared with considerable tact, are defective in material points for personal protection of the colonists, for the safety and delivery of the 'emancipados,' as well as for the general welfare and safety of Cuba: they give no satisfaction to any but the Spanish speculators. General Pezuela is undoubtedly a just man, where there is no national bias to prejudice his judgment; but he does not yet obtain the confidence of the people. He may, however, win it, with their sincere regard, by persisting in the course of rectitude which he has commenced."

Another correspondent of a *New York*

journal, speaking of the introduction of slaves into Cuba, says :

"The preparations for the introduction of Africans at Trinidad as slaves continue to occupy the attention of speculators, who enter into the contraband business with more avidity than ever. Two of the agents of the Portuguese company arrived here per last steamer, and the latter was arrested by order of General Pezuela, remaining in the barracks of La Fuerza some twenty-four hours ; and when released he was instructed that he must leave the island by the first steamer. Both will go to New York by the 'Warrior' or 'Philadelphia,' for the purpose of carrying out their plans by the procurement and fitting of suitable vessels for the trade. They were armed with large credits upon houses here, based upon African blood, which are transferred to bankers of your city!"

A Senor Alarac, a high Customs official had been imprisoned for having reported an *emancipado* to be dead who was and is living, and with attempting to keep him in slavery.

In connection with the subject of the slave-trade, the following question was asked of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons on Thursday the 10th ult.:

"Mr. Hume asked the noble lord the member for the city whether there would be any objection to lay before this House the correspondence that has taken place between Spain, Portugal, the United States, and other countries, respecting the slave-trade to and in Cuba since the report on Slave-trade Treaties was laid on the table of this House.

"Lord J. Russell said that, with regard to what had taken place since the report of the Committee, he could only state that, in consequence of the conduct of the Governor of Cuba, remonstrances had been made to Spain by Her Majesty's Government, and that this Governor had been displaced and a new one appointed, and that, as far as first measures went, there was every appearance of an amendment on the part of the Spanish authorities. It was not usual to give up correspondence in such cases unless there was a necessity ; and Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that, in the present instance, before so doing, it would be best to wait and see what the conduct and proceedings of the newly-appointed Governor would be."

THE PORTUGUESE SLAVE-TRADE.

We copy from two of our daily newspapers a couple of statements which go to prove that certain Portuguese officials at Oporto are actively engaged in prosecuting the slave-trade. If the reports which have been thus transmitted are correct, it is undoubtedly the duty of the Portuguese Government to take vigorous measures for the apprehension and conviction of the parties who are so openly conniving at this infamous traffic. The whole matter has formed the subject of a correspondence between the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-*

Slavery Society, the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, and Count Lavradio, the Portuguese Ambassador. We are gratified to learn that the subject has been brought under the notice of the proper authorities at Lisbon, and that the Portuguese Government have issued instructions to the Governor of Angola, to their minister, and to all their consuls in Brazil, to watch for the two vessels in question. It is asserted that the *Guerra* and the *Trajano* were not fitted out for the slave-trade, but to carry emigrants from Madeira to the English colonies. To say the least of it, the alleged errand is a suspicious one.

"Lisbon, Dec. 29th.

"The most barefaced act regarding the slave-trade is being carried on at Oporto. Two brigs, the *Guerra* and the *Trajano*, are fitting out for that traffic in the light of day, without reserve. They refuse cargo and passengers ; they take with them large water-casks, numerous trays, water for ballast, stores for 120 persons, strong crews, and give the seamen's families an advance of thirty to forty milreis each (7l. to 9l.). The agents are friends of the government ; secretaries of regeneration, the vilest creatures, ennobled and aggrandized by the government ! So says the *Portuguese*, No. 211, of Dec. 26 ; and from the information the press gave on a former occasion, which has since proved to have been true, I have no reason to doubt the notice. On the contrary, I have the strongest reason to say the slave-trade is being carried on, authorisedly, upon a scale that beggars description."—*Daily News*, Jan. 4th.

"Lisbon, Jan. 9.

"In my letter of the 29th ult. I briefly mentioned a report I had just heard, to the effect that two Portuguese brigs, the *Guerra* and another (name not stated), which had recently sailed from Oporto, were bound on slave-trading expeditions. The subject has since been brought forward at the Chamber of Deputies, and I believe there is now no doubt as to the fact that such was their real destination. The Minister of the Interior, in answer to the question put to him by a deputy, denied all knowledge of the matter ; but the *Revolution*, which is the demi-official organ of the government, at the same time that it denies the truth of the charge brought against the authorities of Oporto, of having connived at the fitting-out of those two vessels for slave-trading purposes, admits there is every reason to believe the report to be true as regards the object for which the vessels in question have proceeded to the coast of Africa, particularly as it appears by letters from Angola that their arrival there is anxiously expected by certain notorious slave-dealers. The truth is, that the extinction of the slave-trade by the means hitherto employed seems to be hopeless. The *dealers* may suspend their operations for one, or two, or three years ; but as soon as the vigilance of the cruisers is relaxed—which it is almost sure to be when for a considerable period there has been nothing apparently to watch—they will be at their work again. The enormous profits of that traffic are to them an irresistible temptation, and the only way to put

a stop to it effectually is to deprive it of its markets, by getting the Spanish and Brazilian governments to prohibit all further importations of slaves under the severest penalties, which I fear there is little prospect of persuading them to do. There are individuals now here, who, having gone out to the Brazils or the coast of Africa, not many years ago, with very little if any capital, have come back with colossal fortunes, all made by slave-trading, and the example of their success of course excites the cupidity of others."—*Morning Herald*, Jan. 16.

The same Journal, of the 24th ult., contains the following additional information:

"The subject of the two Portuguese brigs, the *Guerra* and the *Trojano*, which recently sailed from Oporto, and which are said to have gone on slave-trading speculations, was brought forward some days ago in the Chamber of Peers by Count Thomar, in the form of an *interpellation* address to the Minister of the Interior, M. Rodrigo da Fonseca, who replied that orders had been issued to the authorities of Oporto to investigate the matter closely, and report upon it to the government, as well as to exercise the greatest vigilance in future to prevent such practices. A volunteer champion of the accused parties has published a long letter in one of the journals of this city, in which, like Sir William Draper in his attempt to defend the Marquis of Granby against Junius, he makes matters much worse for his *protégés*. The *Guerra*, he says, left Oporto for Viana, where she was to receive emigrants for the Brazils, but was compelled by stress of weather to go to Demerara, which is much the same as if a vessel leaving Falmouth for Plymouth were driven to take refuge in the port of Smyrna. The indignation expressed by Count Thomar, and re-echoed by all the journals adverse to the government, is all pure humbug. Nobody here feels the least horror of slave-trading; but it affords a fine theme of reproach to the ministry, and the opposition party make the most of it accordingly."

BRAZIL, SLAVERY, AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE select the subjoined extracts from an interesting letter published in the *Morning Herald* of the 23d January ult., which we are sure will be read with much pleasure. The writer contrasts the present condition of Brazil with what it was ten years ago, and submits the following statements as illustrative of the advances she has made towards the abolition of the slave-trade to her coasts, and of slavery in her midst.

"Ten years ago, a very serious and prolonged rebellion raged in the southern province, the Rio Grande do Sul; at its head were old Peninsular officers of skill and courage, and it aimed at separation. The Rio Grande do Sul is now one of the most loyal, as it is one of the most prosperous provinces of the empire. Both its population and its wealth are increasing; already it has received a considerable European immigration; slavery is almost unknown in it; and more

than one English commercial house have large estates there, on which the settlers are principally Welsh.

* * * *

"Ten years ago, Brazil carried on an enormous traffic in slaves; the slave-trade was then associated with national prosperity; it was part and parcel of the policy of the country. Now it has entirely ceased; the most severe laws have been passed against it; laws which Lord Palmerston circulated throughout the world as models of legislation; these laws the Government of Brazil has most vigorously executed; the traffic has become odious amongst all classes of natives; the old Portuguese slave-dealers have decamped, and now turn their attention and their ventures to Cuba; and a Committee of the British House of Commons has expressed its belief that the Brazilian slave-trade will not again revive. And in place of slave importation, Brazil is now attracting European immigration; the Emperor has established a German colony round his rural palace of Petropolis with very great success; many of the coffee plantations are being conducted with free labourers; and in the reports of the Presidents of the various provinces, statements shewing that free labour yields a profit of 13 per cent., against a profit of only 8 per cent. on slave labour, are appearing. The domestic slave-trade, too, is being circumscribed, and slaves can no longer be freely sent from one province to another. And, finally, a considerable lawful trade is springing up between Brazil and Western Africa.

"Ten years ago, Brazil chiefly cultivated sugar, that article being principally the cause of the slave-trade and (except in the United States) of slavery. Sugar has ceased to be the chief produce of Brazil. Coffee now is; and the change involves an immense alleviation to the state of slavery in Brazil, and has tended to bring about the suppression of its share in the African slave-trade. It has also, I may remark, rendered Brazil a less formidable competitor to the British sugar colonies."

WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—Nothing of importance has transpired since our last Summary. The House of Assembly has resumed its sittings, but no proceedings of interest have taken place.

The island papers speak of the crops as highly promising.

BRITISH GULANA.—The Combined Court was opened on the 20th of January last, by the Hon. W. Walker, Governor *pro tem.*, by a speech from which we extract a few items of interest. In reviewing the condition of the colony for the year 1853, he remarked, that upon the whole it had been a prosperous year. Although the total amount of actual exports had fallen considerably short of that of 1852, the deficiency was to be accounted for by the operation of natural causes. The deficiency of 1853 as compared with that of 1852 is as follows: 1852, 55,700 hhd. of sugar; 24,520 puncheons of rum; and

10,075 puncheons of molasses: 1853, 44,230 hhds. of sugar; 18,794 puncheons of rum; and 3482 puncheons of molasses. This apparent deficiency in the exports had been caused chiefly by the sudden and remarkable scarcity of tonnage. In view of the equalization of the duties to be levied on sugars the produce of English and Foreign countries, the Court of Policy had thought it advisable to co-operate with some of the island legislatures in forwarding memorials to Her Majesty's Government for the removal of all graduated duties based upon the qualities of sugar, and for the substitution of an *ad valorem* duty, not exceeding the rate of ten per cent. Highly creditable efforts, he said, had been made during the year for the improvement of the manufacture of the staples. Machinery to the estimated value of at least 150,000 dollars had been introduced for the service of the plantations, and experiments had been made, and were still in progress, with a machine worked by hydraulic power, which, if successful, would exercise an important influence upon the exports, by largely increasing the yield of juice from the cane. The continued erection of draining engines had led to important results, not merely in redeeming land hitherto unfit for profitable culture, but in improving the quality of cane grown on land already in cultivation. A highly interesting experiment had been made for the cultivation of rice on a large scale, which, although it had not answered as a pecuniary speculation, had established the practicability of its profitable culture with better appliances. This, with other branches of industry, might be adopted, were there a sufficient amount of available labour. He was gratified to be enabled to say that the statistics of crime presented no feature especially indicative of a retrograde tendency. The educational statistics were of an encouraging character.

The Chinese immigrants are said to be giving great satisfaction to their employers. The non-arrival of the large numbers ordered to be forwarded is attributable to the high rate of freights. One vessel with coolies, the *Harkaway*, had arrived.

The *Royal Gazette* of the 30th of December last has the following interesting item:

"The Supplement of the *Surinaamsche Weekblad* of the 11th of this month shews that the good work of manumission in the Dutch colony of Surinam is going on in real earnest; the lists in this paper amounting to thirty, besides eight more inscribed on the 7th of the same month.

"A Sunday-school is about being opened for the special purpose of instructing the poorer classes arrived at manhood without having had the advantage of any early learning, to which the attention is most earnestly drawn of all who wish to profit thereby, and acquire knowledge as far as they may be yet able."

TRINIDAD.—Lord Harris, the late Gover-

nor, has been removed from Trinidad to the Governorship of Bombay. One of the Governors of the smaller islands, it is understood, will be transferred to this island.

The sugar crop for 1854, it is said, will be the largest ever reaped.

BARBADOES.—We are glad to record any and every improvement in the laws of the colonies, in their bearing upon the peasantry. We had occasion a short time ago, on the authority of the *Liberal*, to expose the heartless and summary manner in which the labourers were often deprived of their holdings, on giving offence to the proprietors. We then expressed the hope that this evil would be remedied. A step in this direction has just been taken by the island legislature. Hitherto, it appears, the law of distraint has been in the hands of petty constables, who have performed their duties too often with but little regard to the rights of the labourer. The only remedy for injustice has been a complicated and expensive legal proceeding, and the tenant has had no alternative but to submit to the wrong. A remedy for this is now supplied by the new Act. The landlord may be made to prove the debt for which he has distrained, before the police magistrate of the parish, on application of the tenant; and unless he so prove it to the magistrate, and ultimately, if need be, to the Court of Appeal, the proceedings in the distraint are stayed, and the goods distrained returned to the tenant free of all charge, and at the cost of the distrainer. This is a redress within the reach of the poorest tenant, and the knowledge that it is so will tend to prevent future imposition.

ST. VINCENT.—A strike for wages has taken place on several estates of this island. The ground of complaint is, that provisions and merchandize have been so raised in price since the ten per cent. duties came into operation, that they are unable to live on their present amount of wages. A large number of labourers from the country had visited the town for the purpose of seeing the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject; but as he was absent, they had to return, which they did in a quiet and orderly manner. Unless some compromise took place, it was thought that there would be difficulty in securing the crop. The *Gazette* says:

"The hasty and ill-considered increase of the duty on *ad valorem* goods, from two to ten per cent., had been taken advantage of to increase the prices of such goods in an undue proportion, equal from 23 to 50 per cent."

DOMINICA.—Major Blackall, the Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica has placed himself in a disagreeable position in relation to a tract of ground called the "Three Chains," which had long been the property of the Crown. It appears that the "Three Chains," owing to the mountainous character of the island, presents the only eligible spot for townships and villages, and that the existence of

these materially conduced to the erection of Parish Churches and Schools. There resided upon this strip of land upwards of fourteen families, numbering sixty or seventy individuals, some of whom had been in undisturbed possession of the houses which they had erected, from fourteen to forty years. The "Three Chains," from its barren and arid nature, could be of no possible use in an agricultural point of view, and was therefore adapted only for the purposes to which it had been applied. It appears that applications were made by several proprietors to the Lieutenant-Governor for the purchase of the "Three Chains," which applications were granted in several instances. The holders of the land, becoming acquainted with the fact, appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor, offering to rent or purchase the land, with the cottages which they had erected. Their case was taken up by some of the leading men of the colony, and a memorial was forwarded to the Queen, but without producing any favourable effect. The people shortly afterwards received notice to vacate their holdings, but they refused to quit. The aid of the police was then obtained, but they were unable to eject them. Other assistance was procured, but without accomplishing the desired object. Thus, either the people must be allowed to retain possession, or they will have to be dispossessed by a military force.

We cannot but regret that, after the experience of 1844, so ill-timed an attempt should have been made to dislodge the holders of the "Three Chains." For the sake of a trifling amount, the feelings of an orderly part of the community have been outraged, and the only gain to the possessors is the proprietorship of a tract of land, which, so far as agricultural purposes are concerned, is utterly useless.

ANTIGUA.—We are rejoiced to find that the attention of the colonies is being directed to the development of their natural resources, which abound on every hand, in the place of confining them almost exclusively to one particular staple. The *Antigua Weekly Register* remarks:

"Mr. James Gordon has placed in our hands a Prospectus of a Joint-stock Company, called *The West-India Hemp and General Fibre Company*, which is now being formed for the manufacture of hemp from the fibrous plants common to those colonies, such as the *plantain*, *aloe*, *penguin*, *pine*, *dagger*, *wild ochro*, *trumpet-tree*, *lace-bark*, and other plants containing strong fibrous substances. There are to be two principal establishments, or manufactories, one in Jamaica and the other in Demerara, where the above plants, especially the plantain, are to be found in great abundance; but other establishments will probably be formed in the smaller colonies. It is proposed to raise a capital of 50,000*l.* by the sale of shares at one pound each.

"The Prospectus states that 'From the specimens produced by the promoters, it is shewn that

these plants abound in long, strong, and beautiful fibres, that can be adapted to all purposes where hemp, flax, linen, yarn, and even silk, are now used, and by a chemical process the fibres are rendered so soft, supple, and white, as to make them available for every article of domestic and mercantile purposes, from the coarsest sail-cloth and rope to the finest cambrics. Another feature in the production of these fibres is, that the refuse can be converted into a pulp for making every description of paper.'"

SLAVERY IN CHINA.

A CURIOUS document has been kindly placed in our hands, of which we subjoin a translation. It is the original bill of sale, by which a Chinese lad, born free, was transferred, as a slave, by his own father, to a third party. We are informed upon the very best authority, that such transactions are by no means uncommon. It is notorious that slavery is one of the domestic institutions of China. We hope ere long to be able to lay before our readers some further particulars on this subject, and trust that the appointment of Dr. (now Sir) John Bowring, to the important office of Governor of Hong Kong, and Chief Superintendent of British Trade, may be the means of introducing the question of emancipation in that ancient empire, the strong barriers of which, modern civilization is rapidly breaking down. Sir John Bowring has, in past times, rendered essential service to the cause, and his recent unsparing and vigorous exposures of the nefarious dealings of the Chinese Coolie-emigration agents at Amoy and elsewhere, prove that he is still on the alert in behalf of humanity. It is difficult to foresee what the opening of the Chinese empire, under a new dynasty, is likely to do, but we may hope that the introduction of even the spurious Christianity of the "rebel party," may prove the precursor of freedom to those who are in bonds. It would be a singular spectacle to see China renounce domestic slavery, under the influence of a semi-Christianity, whilst America, boasting of her freedom and her religious and political institutions, clings to the abomination.

A SON SOLD AS A SLAVE.

"I, the executor of this deed of sale, Le wan foo, being destitute of funds for the purchase of food, became desirous, after consultation with my wife, of selling as a slave my own begotten, second son, named A Chaou, and aged fourteen years, having been born in the noon watch of the 15th day of the 5th month of the Woo Kea year, the 14th of Taon Wang. I therefore gave information of my intention to the chief of my clan, and first sought for a purchaser among my relatives without success. Since, by the instrumentality of the middleman Hwang Wei Pang, a purchaser has been found in Chang Pih Jin. It has been agreed by the two parties in the presence of the middleman that the price should be 40,000 copper cash; and I, Le Wan Foo, have

this day taken my second son A Chaou, and delivered him over as slave to Chang Pih Jin, by whom his name is to be altered at pleasure, and whom he is to serve to the end of his life. Should his master hereafter give him a wife, and he should have born to him sons or daughters, they shall from generation to generation be attached to the house of Chang Pih Jin as slaves, and be in all things subject to the control of their master without any interference on the part of my, Le Wan Foo's, family. I, Le Wan Foo, have already received in full with my own hands the sole price of the person. Should there in future be any question about his origin, the seller and middleman shall be themselves answerable, the purchaser having no concern therewith. This is a case of distinct sale and purchase, without objection from either side, not a transfer in redemption of debt, nor a case of constrained sale or of forcible seizure. As an oral agreement affords no proof, I have specially drawn up this deed of sale, attached to it the impression of my forefinger, and my signature, and handed it to the purchaser to be held by him in witness of the above. This is the truth.

"1. Truly paid over into the hand of Le Wan Foo by Chang Pih Jin in purchase of a slave, the price amounting to 40,000 copper cash.

"2. Truly negotiated by the middleman Kwang Wei Pang, who witnessed the distinct sale of Le A Chaou as a slave, and the delivery of that person and of his price to the respective parties.

"(Signed) the Middleman, HWANG WEI PANG.

"Deed of sale of his own son executed on the 21st day of the third month of the 27th Taou kwang year, by Le Wan Foo.

"Signature and impression of the forefinger of the left hand of Le Wan Foo.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE.

ON Friday evening, the 24th ult. L. A. Chamerovzow, Secretary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, delivered a lecture, in the Town-Hall, Brighton, on *Slavery and the Slave-trade*. The lecture embraced a general statement of the present prospects of the Anti-slavery cause; the progress of Anti-slavery opinion in the United States; the operations of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and the duties of British Abolitionists in relation to the whole question; and it appeared to give general satisfaction to the numerous auditory assembled on the occasion. The Chair was kindly taken by Major Fawcett.

On the following morning Mr. Chamerovzow attended a meeting of ladies, chiefly members of the *Brighton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, which was held in one of the rooms in the Town-Hall, to confer with them on the

best means of promoting the Anti-Slavery movement in Brighton and its vicinity.

REVIEWS.

A Brief Notice of American Slavery and the Abolition Movement, by J. B. Estlin, Esq. Second Edition. Revised and reprinted by the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Association*. London: W. Tweedie, 337 Strand; W. and F. G. Cash, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without. Bristol: H. C. Evans, 29 Clare Street. Dublin: R. D. Webb.

THIS handy little book is a very valuable addition to the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Series* of Tracts, not only on account of the comprehensive sketch it presents of the important subject of which it treats, but also from the liberality of the writer's views on vexed points. It is prefaced by a neat map of the United States, not inaptly called a "moral map," in which the Slave States are coloured scarlet. It is worthy of note, too, that thus marked, the outline of these States assumes the configuration of some nondescript beast—more like a bison than any thing else—of which Florida and Texas form relatively the fore and the hind quarters, and the Carolinas and Virginia the head and neck. We commend this valuable hand-book of Abolitionism to every one who wishes to acquire, at the sacrifice of an evening's leisure, a general knowledge of American Slavery.

Thoughts on Slavery. By J. Wesley.

ANOTHER of the *Leeds Series*, and not one of the least interesting. The introduction, by the Editor of the Series, concludes with the following remarks:

"Let those who have doubts about the identity of Wesleyan Methodism, and what they are pleased to denounce as *modern Abolitionism*, prayerfully read the following pages; they may then be prepared to say who have left the ancient landmarks."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE beg to acknowledge the receipt of two communications in relation to the article entitled *Sugar, Slavery, and Emancipation*. One is from Messrs. T. Daniel and Co.; and the second, bearing the heading, *Sugar, Slavery, and Slander*, is from Mr. Joseph Liggins. They unfortunately reached us too late for insertion or extended notice in our present number, but we hope to find room for them in our next.

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London: W. AND F. G. CASH, 5, Bishopsgate Without: CLARKE, BRETTON, AND Co., 148, Fleet Street.